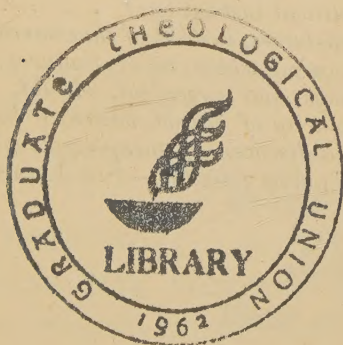




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CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.



“ Who will be hardy enough to assert that a better Constitution is not attainable than any which has hitherto appeared? Is the limit of human wisdom to be estimated in the science of Politics alone by the extent of its present attainments? Is the most sublime and difficult of all arts, the improvement of the social order, the alleviation of the miseries of the civil condition of man, to be alone stationary, amid the rapid progress of every other art, liberal and vulgar, to perfection? Where would be the guilt of a grand experiment, to ascertain the portion of freedom and happiness that can be created by political institutions? It is time that legislators, instead of that narrow and dastardly coasting which never ventures to lose sight of usage and precedent, should, guided by the polarity of reason, hazard a bolder navigation, and discover, in unexplored regions, the treasure of public felicity.”—SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.



Christian Socialism

VERSUS

Present-day Unsociatism.

A DESCRIPTION AND AN ARGUMENT.

BY

E. D. GIRDLESTONE, B.A.

~~~~~  
*"It is better by agreeing with Truth to conquer  
Opinion, than by agreeing with Opinion to be  
conquered by Truth."*—EPICTETUS.

~~~~~  
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ERRATA.

- P. 6, 6th line from foot,
for “pretention” read “pretension.”
- P. 7, 11th line from foot,
delete comma after “Family.”
- P. 31, 3rd line from foot,
for “Poetry” read “Polity.”
- P. 67, 11th line from top,
for “rigorously” read “vigorously.”
- P. 76, 12th line from top,
for “analagous” read “analogous.”
- P. 79. 3rd line from foot,
for “IV.” read “V.”
- P. 82, 9th line from top,
for “recompence” read “recompense.”



PREFACE.

THE three Lectures which constitute this volume were delivered in Clifton, in the spring of the present year, on behalf of an association entitled the "Clifton and Bristol Christian Socialists." As however I have long been of opinion that a positive sin is committed against the book-reading and book-buying world by any person who adds to the already overcrowded book-market, without the excuse of either something new to say, or some better way of saying what is old, I certainly should not have taken the further step of publishing my lectures, had I been cognizant of any publication at all fitted to serve their purpose and to do their work. But the fact is that, although "Socialism" is a very common word upon men's lips and in their thoughts to-day, yet there does not appear to be upon the bookstalls any delineation and criticism of the existing Social System taken from the stand-point of the "Christian Socialists," which is at once both searching and comprehensive in its treatment and popular and explanatory in its method. It was just such a critical description that I had in view in the composition of my lectures; and in approaching the subject I endeavoured to look at the facts through achromatic glasses, in accordance with the advice of Dr. Johnson, "clearing my mind of cant" and prejudice.

Now, in presenting them to a wider Public, while self-knowledge obliges me to disclaim alike all pretension to being anything like an "authority" in regard to either the Old or the New Economy, and equally the possession of any minute or first-hand acquaintance with the industrial phenomena of the country, I yet feel justified in assuring my readers (if I have any!) that they will not go away from my pages disappointed in case they look into them for either an impartial exhibition of the more important materials on both sides—in the way of Facts and Figures—that are required for the formation of a judgment on the question, or an adequate illumination of these by rays converging on them from the twin Lighthouses of Natural Ethics and Christian Principle.

A good deal of confusion of thought however exists both as to the genus "Socialist"—what it is, and what are its several species—and also as to how these stand related to the kindred term "Communist;" and the present seems a suitable occasion for clearing away the fog.

Whereas all material "Wealth" originates either in the gift of Nature, or in the exercise of Human skill and labour (or in the two combined)—"Communism" would permit no private property in wealth of either sort; i.e., it would "Communist" equally the gifts of Nature and the fruits of Labour—allotting either equal incomes out of the General Fund, to all citizens alike, or incomes proportioned to their several "needs;" thus allowing no greater

reward to a superior degree of industry or of "merit" of any kind. "Socialism," on the other hand, while it would "communist" the "Instruments of Production" — Land and Capital—and would endeavour further, by a universal, gratuitous, and complete Education, to equalise to a still greater extent the "opportunities" of all,—declines, as I understand, to make common property of the fruits of Personal Industry. Rather, while equalising, as far as possible, the opportunities of all, it would allow the very different *use* that Virtuous and Vicious persons severally make of their equal opportunities to eventuate in a different degree of prosperity and amount of wealth accruing to the two sorts of men respectively. In a word, while Communism would proportion Reward to Need, Socialism would proportion it to Merit. Both systems alike would be inconsistent with "Rent" and "Interest" paid to private persons. On the other hand, the institution of "Private Property" and the power of "Willing," which would vanish under Communism, would be retained by any sort of English Socialism.

For there are "Socialists" and "Socialists!" For instance, in regard to "Nature's Gifts," while some think it right to communist only her *external* gifts (to the whole community) in the way of Land and Raw Materials, and would permit each unit to make private profit out of any superior Personal endowments either bodily or mental that he might possess, others,

including myself, are taught by their sense of Justice that *all* the Gifts of Nature, *internal* not less than external, ought to be applied impartially and equally to the profit of the whole community.

A cross-division of Socialists again is into (a) such thinkers, as, believing *laissez-faire* to be the greatest of our social evils, desire, for the present at any rate, to enlarge the sphere of government and make it more paternal; and (b) those who have such faith in the goodness of human nature, when it is treated fairly, as to believe that, under a Socialist régime, we might at once and altogether dispense with Government restrictions—this class of thinkers being known by the name of “Social Anarchists.”

Whether of these two ideals is to be preferred must depend of course on the answer given to the prior question: Have the individual members of the proposed community learned—or not yet learned—*Self-government*? For, as *Edmund Burke* remarked, “Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetite Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere; and *the less of it there is within, the more there must be without!*” At the same time, that is doubtless true in Politics which *Herbert Spencer* says of Education, that “the aim of our discipline should be to produce a self-governing being, not to produce

a being to be governed by others." It seems reasonable therefore to expect, in proper Evolutionary course, (that is, if Reason steers the bark of "Evolution,") that a Socialism of a more Paternal type, with a much more elaborately organised government than we have at present, shall precede, to be followed in due time, when human nature has under such régime become angelic, by the type Anarchical of Socialism!

Hitherto, so far as my description goes, both Communists and Socialists have stood outside the pale of Party Politics. But the term "Social Democrat" introduces that distinction. For, I suppose, a "Social Democrat" is primarily a politician and a party man of an extremely Radical type, and differs from other Democrats in the fact that the Reforms which make up his ideal are of a Socialistic type, and that Re-construction is not less his aim than is Destruction. Moreover his creed would appear to allow of his employing illegal means for the attainment of his ends.

N.B.—In drawing the above distinctions I have referred to the terms only as I understand them to be employed in this country—excluding the Continental use of them entirely.

It remains, lastly, to enquire what is a "Christian Socialist"? He is a Socialist within the limits of Christian Morals and Politics—from Christian Conviction—and pledged to prosecute his aims by only Christian Methods. His name does not however imply that he

professes to be a "Christian" in either the ecclesiastical, or the vital and spiritual, meaning of that name.

Many persons, especially religious ones, object to Socialism—even to "Christian" Socialism—that it must be irreligious and Unchristian, seeing that it appears to take no notice of the "first and great commandment", and to rest its doctrines only on the "second"—the Golden Rule. Like Shakespear's *Jack Cade*, they say of us secular evangelists: "Away with them! they have a familiar spirit under their tongues—they speak not o' God's name"! And because our message aims at the improvement of men's circumstances and animadverts not on their "sins" as such,—therefore we are said to be Materialists, and Determinists, and Unspiritual! But in truth it is possible to be a Socialist without being an Owenite; and to desire that men should not be led by each other, or by their social institutions, into temptation, while firmly convinced, as I for one am, that victory over temptation and the mastery over the "natural man" is an object transcending immensely in importance all possible improvements of environment! It seems hard that a system or an author should be dubbed "irreligious" or "unchristian" simply because, in a discussion of Moral and Economic problems, no special parade is made of religious names and phrases. But, if they called such "masters of the house" as were Frederick Maurice and Charles Kingsley—also "Christian

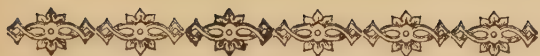
Socialists", but a generation and a half ago—"Beëlzebub",—how little reason is there to expect that such as we are—lowest menials in the household of Socialistic faith—shall escape hard names !

On my side I have to confess that not a few hard names and stern condemnations will be met with in the following pages ; let the compassionate reader however bear in mind that these are applied to the system attacked and not to any individuals. For such individual men and women as are helplessly, and through no fault of their own, involved by custom and education in the pernicious system I assail, I entertain no feeling but regret and pity. I am sorry that they, as in a measure myself also, occupy a position so false and insecure ; I am sorry too to find myself a chosen instrument sent to disturb their serenity ; but yet it is good that the Truth be told, that the "Classes" should learn to see themselves as the "Masses" already see them, and that they should perceive at what cost to others they have gained and enjoy their privileges. When they apply the test of Justice to those arrangements on which our present social fabric rests, they cannot but join in condemning them!—will not a Sense of Honour further rouse them to try and remedy these wrongs of ages? will they not make it their endeavour that, if the whole of the evil cannot be removed within their own lifetime, at least it shall be mitigated, and the rectification completed in their children's day?

For the "Family Robinson" illustration which forms the opening to my First Lecture, I am indebted (in great measure even for its wording) to a valuable little book entitled "Social Delusions" published in 1856 by Richard Jennings, M.A. Most other debts have been acknowledged in their places. Since the lectures were delivered I have met with a tract, to which I would give the strongest possible recommendation—I only wish I had seen it earlier—entitled "Facts for Socialists, from the Political Economists and Statisticians", being No. 5 of the "Fabian Tracts" issued by the Fabian Society, 150 Portsdown Road; Maida Vale, W.—1887.

My last word must be one of gratitude to the Editor of *Brotherhood* for allowing these lectures to appear, before their publication in the present form, piecemeal in his sympathetic pages.

The Deyne; Amberley; Stroud;
November, 1887.



CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM,

OR,

OUR SEVEN LEAN KINE AND
THEIR MOTHER.



LECTURE I.

MOST of us I suppose have read, and read with pleasure, in our childhood, the story called "The Swiss Family Robinson," which depicts a whole family castaway on a desert island, with a scanty salvage of the necessaries of civilised life, and dependent therefore on their own exertions for the satisfaction of nearly all their future wants. The head of such a family, after the first bustle of landing was over, and the last vestige of the wreck had disappeared, and when too a preliminary survey of the resources of the island had been made, would naturally begin to consider what employments were best suited to the capacities of each member of his little community, so as to make their powers most conducive to the benefit of all, and would further take counsel with himself as to the purposes to which the different articles in the common stock could be most profitably applied. It is easy to conceive in what fashion he would, as we should say, *organise* the family industry; how he would set the

younger members to the light labour of turning turtles on their backs, searching for their eggs, collecting salt from hollows in the rocks, gathering limes and lemons, heaping up cocoanuts, &c.; the females, again, to provide for the internal conduct of the ménage, the milking of goats, the cooking of food, the mending of clothes, and the education and tending of the little ones; while the father himself and his grown up sons, according to their strength and skill, would prepare ground for a corn crop, build a boat or raft, dig a fosse, and erect a palisade for protection against savages, and would undertake such other laborious duties as might seem to be conducive to the general good. Thus all would be judiciously employed (in accordance with the conditions of age and sex, skill and strength), in making the best of their reduced, and at first seemingly hopeless, circumstances.

Now, such a paterfamilias as this, if he were acquainted with modern views of history, might be led, as he reflected on his responsible position, to the conclusion that he had, unintentionally and unexpectedly, been called upon to fulfil a double set of functions, namely those of a "Patriarchal Ruler" as well as those of a "Parent"—that he had become in fact the law-giver and the law-enforcer—the Legislature and the Executive—of a kingdom, was a King instead of a mere Subject as of yore, and had all the responsibilities of *Royalty* lying on his shoulders! This consideration would naturally lead him to enquire whether there were no

some light and guidance to be had, ready made as it were, and all appropriate for his purpose and position, in the principles which underlie the Political Economy of Empires. For (he would naturally argue) the same principles which tend to true prosperity, when applied to a community on a large and Imperial scale, would probably produce a similar effect, when applied on a smaller, but still royal, scale! As a student in his youth of Adam Smith, he would recollect that philosopher's remark, that "what is prudence in the conduct of every private family can scarcely be folly in that of a great kingdom," and would feel justified in "converting" it and inferring that "what is prudence in the conduct of a great kingdom can scarcely be folly in that of a private family." These words of James Mill too might recur to his mind, that "Political Economy is to the State what Domestic Economy is to the Family." He would therefore do his best to recall what he had read in Economical treatises on the Rules and Principles proper to be followed, or that are followed, by wise countries, in the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Wealth, in order that he might know what arrangements would be the wisest for him, as sovereign in miniature, to make in regard to the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Commodities in his little island kingdom. In fact, he would feel sure that, in proportion as he was able to recollect and take advantage of the discoveries that have

been made by the famous writers who have explored and expounded the principles of Economic Science, he would be following safe guidance, and consulting the true interests of his much-loved subjects!

Can it be imagined that, after serious and thoughtful examination of the doctrines laid down by Economical authorities and accepted from them as gospel by practical statesmen during the last century, he would hesitate to base his policy upon them? Is it possible that any one of them would present itself to his mind in such an aspect as to lead him to question—foreven a moment—its value as example? Well! let us see what some of these doctrines are! Here is one of the fundamental maxims of the orthodox and accepted system of Political Economy, as it has been taught in our colleges and applied in our Parliaments, since the time of Adam Smith:—

“In prosecuting such branches of industry as are most advantageous to themselves” [say Brothel-keeping, Gin-distilling, Crimping], “individuals necessarily prosecute such as are most advantageous to the public.”

Again:—“It is in every case sound policy to leave individuals to pursue their own interests in in their own way!”

Again:—“An occupation may be futile and trifling in the last degree” [*e.g.* Latin Verse writing, Learning by heart obsolete Bradshaws] “without being unproductive.”

N.B., the above three passages are from

Macculloch's "Political Economy"—a standard treatise on the subject.

Again:—"The discovery of an *artificial* want is the first step to exertion; and without exertion in the individual there can be no progress in the nation." That is from Professor Twiss, formerly Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford! Again:—"It signifies nothing to the main purposes of trade how superfluous the articles which it furnishes are: whether the want of them be real or imaginary, whether it be founded on nature, or opinion, or fashion, or habit, or emulation, it is enough that it is actually desired and sought after." That is a quotation made by Macculloch from the writings of *Archdeacon Paley*, and made too with approval!

Now, what would our patriarchal ruler think of these suggestive hints? Would they lead him to tell his children each to choose his own occupation, guided solely by his fancy? Would he, while the family was still ill off (or some of its members at least) for the barest necessities of life,—exhort them to devote exertion, and to apply valuable materials and time, to the purpose of forcing fruit at untimely seasons, or of producing ornaments instead of garments; to leave the barley ground unsown while hunting in the woods for grey parrots on *fine* days, and on *rainy* ones, polishing pebbles in the cave? He would surely rather feel disposed to resolve that if, by the bounty of Providence, all the wants of his family should ever be

adequately supplied, he would thankfully relieve its several members from a part of the excessive toil from which their better nature was liable to suffer, and would see that the hours thus gained were passed in singing, and music, and games, and literary and artistic pursuits, and any other form of moral, intellectual, æsthetic, or religious, recreative culture!

The popular doctrine that "The man who gives most employment to others is their greatest benefactor," he would not care to verify by his example.

Then, in providing a stimulus for exertion, and suggesting a principle in accordance with which both Labour and its fruits should be distributed among the members of his family—he would find it laid down by the Political Economists, that Competition, or "Each for himself, and the Devil take the hindmost," was the only orthodox and established principle—one accepted and believed in as a *Law of Nature* (over which man is as powerless as over physical laws) rather than as a product of the human mind itself which it rests with each human unit to control or to be ruled by. He would find it laid down, *e.g.*, by J. S. Mill, that "it is only thro' the principle of Competition that Political Economy has any pretension to the character of a Science," and he would find Professor and Mrs. Marshall defining the "normal" economical and social state as "that condition of affairs which would be brought about by the undisturbed action of free"

[unrestricted] "Competition."

He would find that Political Economy regarded Competition as a principle or law in Human Nature alike universal and inevitable; and taught that it is only through its unrestricted action that national Prosperity was in any case attainable. Not only therefore is it not evil, but it is beneficent! F. W. Newman, *e.g.*, says, "*One's own interest* is the main and rightful moving principle, of which we ought not to let sentimental moralists make us ashamed. The grand and noble moral theorem expounded by Political Economy, is that the laws of the market which *individual* interest generates, are precisely those which tend best to the *universal* benefit." *I.E.*:—In proportion as each guest at a dinner-table conducts himself like a greedy and a grasping pig, are all the other guests most likely to fare well, each in his turn!

Those are the teachings about National Economy which the head of an *English* "Family Robinson," well versed in the English literature of that subject, would be likely to recall to memory! And when he reflected, as he naturally would, on the *fruits* such teaching had produced at home, or the effects in which philosophers had read these principles as underlying causes—he would recall a state of affairs—a general Social condition—(as characteristic of his country,) such as would lead him, if a man of any sense, to look elsewhere for wisdom and for guidance.

Allow me now to sketch in outline the picture Memory would bring before him—the picture, that is, of

OUR EXISTING SOCIAL STATE.

I think that it will be admitted by every careful and candid observer that the present condition of Society in this country is most calamitous and at the same time most threatening.

Enormous energies are at work in the great national machine; but the *friction* of different portions of the mechanism with each other, and also the *waste of power*, are of equally astonishing proportions! Our Social System, like our Political Constitution, has “grown,” and not “been made;” and there is in consequence a want of that symmetry of structure and harmony of action which a skilful Artist would have endeavoured to embody in his plan. There is a great want, in a word, of *Organisation*. Further, while one effect of the system, such as it is, has been to Produce an amount of Wealth beyond all precedent, the Distribution of it is, as every fair observer must admit, altogether unjust! And this *Injustice* of Distribution is equally obvious as a fact, and equally disastrous in its effects, in reference to *both* of the main sources of Wealth, viz: the Gifts of Nature, and the Produce of Labour. For, as *J. S. Mill* remarked, “The Social arrangements of Modern Europe” (and this is true of the United Kingdom in particular) “commenced from a distribution of property which was the result, not of just

partition, or acquisition by Industry, but of conquest and violence, &c. . . and the system still retains many and large traces of this [most unjust] origin." So much for the "Land"—as an embodiment of all the gifts of *Nature* to us! Then, as regards the *Produce of Human Labour*, it is an observation of the same impartial judge that, "whereas the reward of each working man ought to be proportioned to his individual labour and abstinence, it is, as a matter of fact, almost in an *inverse* ratio to it, those who receive the least labouring and abstaining the most."

The truth is that, as *Sydney Lysaght*, the author of a recent poem, "*A Modern Ideal*," says: "God gives wealth to mankind; and the Devil distributes it." Again: we find, just what we might expect to find, as the outcome of so much Injustice in regard both to the Principal and the Income of the National property, a proportionate (*i.e.*, an enormous) amount of preventable misery. In order that a few may be rich and roll in luxury, the masses are overworked and underpaid, and this in many cases to such an extent that their very constitutions become deteriorated and they become the fathers of a physically inferior progeny. If true a hundred years ago, how much more deeply verified are *now* those piteous sentiments of the Irish poet describing his native Auburn:—

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where *wealth* accumulates, and *men* decay!

.

Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen, who survey
The *rich* man's joys increase, the *poor's* decay
'Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand
Between a *splendid*, and a *happy* land ! ”

In the February number of the “Contemporary” there is an article by *Prince Kropotkin*, which contains a masterly survey of the leading industrial phenomena of the United Kingdom to-day—a survey to make the most frivolous butterfly of fleeting fashion for at least one moment hesitate !

“We have witnessed, during the last seventy years, an unparalleled sudden increase of our powers of production, resulting in an accumulation of wealth that has outstripped the most sanguine expectations. But, owing to our wage system, this increase of wealth, due to the combined efforts of men of science, and of managers and workmen as well—has resulted only in an unprecedented accumulation of wealth in the hands of the owners of capital ; while an increase of misery for the great numbers, and insecurity of life for all, have been the lot of the workmen ! The unskilled labourers are falling into unheard-of destitution ; and even the best paid artisans and skilled workmen, who are undoubtedly living a more comfortable life than before, labour under the permanent menace of being thrown, in their turn, into the same condition as the unskilled paupers, in consequence of some of the continual and unavoidable fluctuations of industry and caprices of capital ! The chasm between the

modern millionaire, who squanders the produce of human labour in a gorgeous and vain luxury, and the pauper reduced to a miserable and insecure existence, is thus growing more and more, so as to break the very unity of society—the harmony of life—and to endanger the progress of its further development! At the same time, the working classes are the less inclined patiently to endure this division of Society into two classes, as they themselves become more and more conscious of the wealth-producing power of modern industry, of the part played by Labour in the production of wealth, and of their own capacities of organisation! In proportion as all classes of the Community take a more lively part in the public affairs, and knowledge spreads among the masses, their longing for equality becomes stronger, and their demands for Social reorganisation become louder and louder, they can be ignored, in fact, no more. The worker claims his share in the riches he produces; he claims his share in the management of production, and he claims, not only some additional well-being, but also his full rights in the higher enjoyments of Science and Arts! These claims, which formerly were uttered only by the Social Reformers, begin now to be made by a daily growing minority of those who work in the factory or till the acre; and they so conform with our feelings of Justice, that they find support in a daily growing minority amidst the privileged classes themselves!” These are a foreigner’s remarks!

No doubt it will be objected by many, and will be even genuinely believed by some, that at least the larger portion of this misery arises from causes within the sufferers' own control, from idleness, vicious extravagance, thriftlessness, and general shiftlessness! And no doubt much misery is due to the sufferers' own default; and much again to the fault of their immediate forefathers! Yet we find *Mr. G. R. Sims*—a man, if any, well acquainted with the facts—admitting in a recent letter to the *Daily News*, that “vast numbers of the poor” (I give his own words) do take all possible precautions against “old age, ill health, and hard times, by saving money, joining friendly benefit societies, and provident clubs, and taking out policies of assurance; and who yet, when the pinch comes, find that all their efforts have been in vain, and that they might just as well have spent their wages week after week to the last farthing, like their more reckless neighbours; and in nine cases out of ten the thrift that was lost to them would have been saved to them, had they been better protected by the law and by public opinion!”

Let us call another witness, the late *Mr. Scott Russell*, the builder of the “Great Eastern” S.S. and the greatest ship-builder of his day—well! he was a Philanthropist as well; and in 1870, in connection with what was then known as the “New Social Movement,” (in which others also were engaged) he gave the public the result of his lifelong experience as

an employer of labour on a gigantic scale, and an observing traveller in foreign countries, supplemented by the expenditure of one half of the previous year exclusively in "studying" (I give his own words) "the real evils which depress the condition of the working men," in the course of which six months he had much converse with the men themselves. Well, the conclusion to which he came was that (in 1870) "The Social relations between the different classes of Society in England are too intolerable to last long; they must be speedily and timely cured, or they will suddenly cure themselves!"

These are weighty words, coming from such a source!

Well, Mr. Scott Russell went on to say, that, having taken great pains to distinguish between the *imaginary* grievances and political *fancies*, and the *real* griefs, of working men, he had been able to classify these latter under seven heads, none of them, as he says, "the invention of anyone," but all of them "growing naturally out of the actual condition of English Society."

These seven sorts of evils were:—

1. "The want of family *homes*, clean, wholesome, and decent, out in pure air and sunshine.

2. "The want of an organised supply of wholesome, nutritious, cheap *food*.

3. "The want of *leisure* for the duties and recreations of family life, for instruction, and for social duties.

4. "The want of organised *local government* to secure the well-being of the inhabitants of villages, towns, counties, and cities.

5. "The want of systematic, organised *teaching* to every skilled workman of the scientific principles and most improved practice of his trade.

6. "The want of public parks, buildings, and *institutions* for innocent, instructive, and improving *recreation*.

7. "The want of the adequate *organisation* of the public service for the common good."

These are all very well, as far as they go; and are all that perhaps we could expect a great capitalist like Mr. Scott Russell to recognise. Yet presently we shall find, unless I am much mistaken, that under these, and as the cause of these, lie evils of a far more radical and comprehensive sort—the working of which was not at that day suspected by either the philosophic observer or the helpless sufferer. Mr. Scott Russell's seven causes of evil are indeed, compared with those which I am about to exhibit, like Pharaoh's seven "fat-fleshed and well-favoured kine," while mine will be "poor and very ill-favoured and lean-fleshed," such as Mr. S. Russell never saw in all the Continent of Europe for badness—which will eat up all his seven causes, and yet, "when they have eaten them up, it will not be known that they have eaten them"—so utterly ill-favoured are they all!

You will notice how equally Prince Kropotkin

and Mr. S. Russell, point to the popular misery as something more than "misery"—as a source of *danger* to the state as well. Always it is so! Truly said Burke, once member for this City of Bristol, of his day, that "Reform delayed is Revolution begun"! Alas that Reform should ever be delayed! Alas, a thousand times alas, that "misery's story is illegible and ineffectual as long as it is written in *tears*;" and that it only, as a rule, becomes legible when it has been "written in Blood"! Things have got worse not better since Mr. Scott Russell's days—at least if we may trust the picture our Laureate lately drew, as faithful:—

"Is it well that, while we range with Science,
glorying in the time,
City children soak and blacken soul and sense in
city slime?
There among the glooming alleys Progress halts
on palsied feet,
Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the
thousand on the street;
There the master scrimps his haggard sempstress
of her daily bread,
There a single sordid attic holds the living and
the dead;
There the mouldering fire of fever creeps across
the rotted floor,
And the crowded couch of incest, in the warrens
of the poor!"

As the first condition of the cure of Illness is that its symptoms be carefully ascertained, with a view to their causes being traced, and if

possible removed or neutralised, so it has been my duty, as a would-be Social Reformer, to draw your attention to the depressing, rather than to the exhilarating, aspects of our patient's case! It has not been my object or duty to enumerate such elements of national prosperity as may be present! This is no fitting time or place to think of *them*! Our present work is only to ascertain the *evil* facts and forces with which we have to cope; and it has therefore been my endeavour, within my very narrow limits of time, neither to understate, nor yet to overstate, these evils. We then, who call ourselves "Christian Socialists," i.e. not men who desire to see Socialism preached as a "thing of Death and Terror," but men who have deliberately deduced our Socialistic views as logical conclusions from the premisses of *Christian Precept*, and are pledged to employ, in their furtherance, only *peaceful and Christian methods*,—we, who call ourselves "Christian Socialists" in that sense and no other, are of opinion that the intense and widespread sufferings of the people of this country originate—

- (1) partly in *causes* which are altogether *beyond Human Control*, except remotely and indirectly; and
- (2) in part, in *causes* due exclusively to the sufferers' *personal* default; and
- (3) for the rest, in *causes* arising naturally out of the artificial *Social System* in which they have their being.

Now, as to those causes of misery which come under the first head, such, viz: as are reckoned *beyond the control of man*, I will speak again later on. They constitute, in fact, "No. 1" of my "seven lean kine".

Again, of those causes of misery which are usually reckoned to be due to the sufferers' personal default I shall speak later on, when I come to "No. 2" of my "seven lean kine".

In the main (and directly,) I shall devote my, and invite your, attention to those deeply-rooted, and widely-branching, causes of human misery, which, originating as they have, in human action or inaction, remain under human control—causes, in the presence of which Individual effort and heroism are indeed almost powerless, but which, being entirely the creatures of Society, can be controlled by their Creator; and ought to be retained, restrained, modified, or replaced, (if at least their Creator possesses common sense,) according as their action is proved to be a blessing or a curse to him! These are causes inherent in the particular Social System which has been evolved in this country; and may be regarded as defects in it of either (1) *Organisation*, or (2) *Justice*.

In accordance with this view, we "Christian Socialists" deliberately aim at—

- (1) A more perfect Social and Industrial *organisation*; and
- (2) An infusion of the element of *Justice* to the greatest possible extent.

Dividing then the preventible portion of the misery of any country into two divisions, viz :—

- (1) that part which can only be prevented by *Individual* virtue and prudence (and on which I shall only slightly touch,) and
- (2) that part which is traceable to causes *beyond the Individual's Control*,—

We say that an enormous proportion of this latter part is traceable to the following seven Causes, viz :

- (1) *Natural and Accidental Inequalities* in Personal Endowments, whether bodily or mental ;
- (2) Unjust Distribution of *Educational* advantages ;
- (3) Appropriation, and Unjust Distribution, of *Land* and Natural Agents ;
- (4) Unjust and Unwise Distribution of *Capital* ;
- (5) Unjust Distribution of *Necessary Labour*, and of its obverse, *Leisure* ;
- (6) Immense *Misdirection* and Nullification of Labour ;
- (7) Unjust Distribution of the *Reward* of Labour.

These are my “seven lean kine”—whose voracity (for, like Cassius, they are “lean and hungry creatures”!) is considerably greater, we shall find, I think, than the comparatively “fat kine” of Mr. Scott Russell! And a leaner, hungrier, crueller, more voracious, and worse-favoured, monster than all his and mine together, is the Mother of the whole fourteen, viz :—“*Competition*”—the moving power and

mainspring of the entire existing system ! The seven causes may be compared to a row of seven beads strung together on a cord that is spun out of three strands, viz : the two already mentioned, " Misery " and " Injustice," and, stronger and more tenacious than either, " Competition " ! For the rest, I propose to take these seven heads, and their Mother, *seriatim*, and to point out, under each,

(a) How it acts as a cause and producer of misery and other evils ; and

(b) What principle we Christian Socialists would substitute, and what practice we would follow, if we had our way, in reference to each separate head, as it comes under discussion.

I.

NATURAL OR ACCIDENTAL INEQUALITIES OF PERSONAL ENDOWMENT, WHETHER BODILY, OR MENTAL.

NO one, I suppose, doubts that human beings come into this world most unequally endowed in respect of Bodily and Mental Gifts ;—that, as runners in the Race for Wealth, and for Happiness so far as that depends on wealth, some of them have great advantages from Birth, while others are proportionately handicapped. Strong limbed are some, and possessed of comparatively large " Vital Capacity," while others are puny and sickly-looking from their birth, or constitutionally predisposed to some

infirmity, or with an inherited poison in their blood, or deformed, or blind, or deaf-mutes, or born with a "bee" (or a whole "hive of bees") in their bonnetless brainboxes, or with the contents of the said boxes only "half baked." And this, through no fault of their own at all! Sometimes it is indeed through no human fault at all. "Who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?" was the question put to the Son of Man by some who wanted to catch Him tripping or to silence Him. To whom the answer came: "Neither this man, nor his parents, caused the blindness; but it was inflicted with a view to the greater glory of his Maker!"

The natural mind at once inquires: "How can this be so? Can it be to the glory of God, if God be, as He is called, "Love"—that certain of his children should arrive on the battlefield of life, only half armed, and at great disadvantage as compared with their rivals? and that these congenital defects should be allowed to produce throughout the victims' lives their natural effects of Disability and Suffering?" Will facts like this raise men's opinions of their Maker, and help them to believe in His Justice and His Fatherhood? Will not some be tempted to say—"It is the spite of a Demon, and not the providence of a God of Goodness, that allowed such things to be! *Either* the Ruler of the world is Beneficent but *not* Almighty; *or*, if He be Almighty, then He clearly does not wish His creatures well"! It cannot

be denied that these congenital Inequalities, as well as those "accidents by fell and flood," and unpreventable infirmities, to which our human nature at its best is liable, *have all the effect*, if they are allowed free course, of *so many pieces of intentional Injustice and Partiality!* There is however one explanation of these phenomena—of the presence of Evil in the world at all,—which is alike honourable to the Cause of Causes, and beneficent in its effect on Man; and that is, that, in the words of *Sir A. Helps*, "The Good Goddess has made things uneven" [for this express purpose] "that men should make them even again"! Such inequalities do *then* bring "glory" to their Institutor, if they either give Him, or give His children, occasion for setting wrong right and bringing out of sadness gladness! As divines tell us beautifully, "Man's necessity is God's opportunity"; and similarly, the Inequalities set up by "Nature" are the very opportunity which "Justice" needs to show her healing power!

Nature knows nothing of "Morality"—nothing at all of "Justice". If we determine to take *her* doings for our guide, let us not shrink from doing so with whole hearts and resolutely; and let us do to death the maimed, and the infirm, and outworn; let us piously eliminate them and permit only the "fittest" to survive! "Nature's every-day performances are," as *Mr. J. S. Mill* observes, "the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another"; and again:—"The order of

Nature is such as no being, whose attributes are Justice or Benevolence, would have made with the intention that his *rational* creatures should follow *as an example*." But I go further, and say, that not only ought we, if we follow Justice, *not* to take Nature's doings as our precedent and pattern, but it is our duty—knowing as we must do that causes produce effects, unless we hinder them—to neutralise, so far as we can, and to defertilise, the inequalities that have been sown by Nature, and so prevent their bearing, in the future, like inequalities and miseries a hundredfold! "Here we are," as the genial *Poet* tells us at the *Breakfast Table*, "travelling through the Desert together, like the Children of Israel. Some pick up more manna and catch more quails than others, and ought to help their hungry neighbours". It is not merely "Charity," so called, or "Generosity," that prompts to this attempt to rectify and remedy the Inequalities of Nature;—*Justice* herself compels us to view them in the light of *Inequities*,—of which we share the guilt unless we endeavour to remove them!

In this sense, and in this sense only, (in the matter, that is, of *Natural and Accidental Inequalities*) is it true, or need it be the case, that "the Poor we have always with us." To say that Poverty, either of such sort as is caused by individual default, or of such sort as is incidental to our Social System, *must* be, or *will* be, "always with" mankind, and to make

that solitary observation, made by Christ about his own particular day and nation, an excuse for not trying to remove, so far as possible, the causes of Poverty, is indeed, as *Mill* calls it, “a *base* doctrine”! We might as well urge against the work of Preaching that “Sinners” will be always among us, and therefore that to try and get rid of Sin is to fight against God Himself! “Woe unto the world,” says the greatest of Teachers, “because of occasions of stumbling”; (and I will add, “because of Poverty;”) “for it must needs be that the occasions come”; (Yes! and it is all but certain that there will always be some “Poverty”!) “but woe to that man through whom the occasion cometh”—the occasion for “Poverty,” I say, as well as for “Stumbling”! And it is not the Poor man himself—in most instances—that is the “occasion” of his poverty; it is, to a very great extent, the System under which he lives that is the cause; and “Woe to the evil system, the cause of so much evil!” say we Christian Socialists.

We have only to frame, or reform, our Social System on the lines of the first half of the Axiom of Justice, viz :

“From each according to his capacity”—to liberate our consciences from all share in this Species of Injustice, which neither Individual men, nor Human Communities, have caused. We have only to “temper the wind to the shorn lamb,” the “strong” among us “bearing the infirmities of the weak”—we have

only to feel and act towards those who have found in Nature a cruel Stepmother, as a tender human mother acts towards a deformed, or semi-idiotic one, or a weakling among her flock—"the feeblest and yet the favourite"—i.e., with *extra* compassion and consideration, and then to make all our future arrangements in accordance with the same axiom "From each according to his capacity"; and we shall have attained the final aim of Human Justice in *Equalising the opportunities of all!* Then, if one man has less wealth and consequently less enjoyment than another, it will be through neither Nature's, nor his Neighbour's, fault, but entirely through his own. Less than this must surely be Injustice!

Before I pass from this topic of Natural Inequalities, there are two considerations which I feel bound in fairness to impress upon you. The first of these is that in thousands, and in an ever increasing number, of cases, children are born defectively endowed, not through operation of any mere Natural Law, but, either because their parents, or their recent ancestors, indulged in vicious personal habits—(of drunkenness, venery, and the like—) or because these same ancestors were forced by the conditions of their Social System to work amid surroundings which necessarily caused their own physical deterioration, and that of their offspring!

Several years ago—but I have not got the date—I cut from a newspaper the abstract of a lecture by *Dr. Beddoe, F.R.S.*, read before

the "British Association," in which he expressed his "great fear that the Media which act on the physique of the British tend rather to grow worse than better"; and he specified, among the probable causes, the concentration of the population into *towns*, the increase of *sedentary* and *nocturnal* occupations, the increased demand for *women's and children's work*, the scarcity of *nourishment* (and of milk in particular,) in certain districts, as well as the fact that *Immigration* carries off the finest specimens of the race! Again, the "Spitalfields weavers" are said to be so far physically deteriorated as actually to be dying out; such of them as survive "exhibiting the usual signs of impaired constitutions, such as narrow chests, imperfect muscular development, and very faulty teeth" (*D. Syme's "Industrial System,"* p. 46). Look too at the account *Mr. W. Besant* gives of the condition of health of the poor London sempstresses, who work, as Hood's poor shirt-maker worked, under the "iron law of 11½d"! Again, in 1863, *Mr. Simon*, a Government official, reported to Government that "the wages of *Agricultural Labourers* in the South of England were reduced to such an extent as actually to deprive the labourers and their families of a sufficiency of nourishment to maintain them in health and vigour"!

Now I ask you, as *just* men and women, whether it is fair to a child, with sensibilities equal to our own, and who is "in all points like as we are," except in constitutional health

and efficiency, that his whole life should be spoiled and his prospects ruined, because of either the personal default of his parents, or the harsh institutions of the Society into which he has been born? Why, even in the days of the prophet Ezekiel—when conscience was not so tender as now it ought to be—even then we find the prophet, on behalf of Jehovah, protesting against the notion that it was any part of the Divine régime that “*the children’s teeth should be set on edge*” because “*their fathers had eaten sour grapes*”! “As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall *not* have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel! Behold *all* souls are Mine the soul *that sinneth, it shall die*! the son shall *not* bear the iniquity of the father the righteousness of the righteous shall be on *him*; and the wickedness of the wicked shall be on *him*”! Why, this is the very idea of Christian Socialism—at least it is *my* idea of it!—not that I profess to speak for all, in every detail. But this seems to be in exact accordance with a Just man’s own ideal, viz. : on the one hand:—“*From each according to his capacity*”; i.e., much work expected from the strong and the quick-witted; and light tasks set to the feeble and the stupid; and on the other hand, “*To each according to his Doings and Deservings*”—*Desert* being measured not by Natural gifts of mind or body—(for strength and beauty and cleverness of mind or body are neither praiseworthy nor prizeworthy!—) but by *Volun-*

tary Effort—by the degree in which each person endeavours to do *his best*—without comparison with others. Nature gives her prizes in success, and the material conditions of Happiness, to the Clever and the Strong. “To him who hath” *already*, She gives more ! But *Justice* sees in the widow’s mite a greater sacrifice and higher merit than in the cheap big gifts of rich men, and apportions her pay to *effort*, not *success* !

“ ’Tis not in mortals to command *success* .

But *all* can do this much—they can *deserve* it” !

Is it Just that men should suffer for defects they cannot help ? The Evolutionists (if at least *Professor Lloyd Morgan*, in his recent volume “The Springs of Conduct,” is a fair representative of this school of Moralists) say that this is “an illegitimate question” ; and the reason they give for this opinion is, that “Nature is neither just nor unjust ;” and we are not to be more just—more moral in any sense (they seem to reason) than Nature is ! “Just, or unjust,” they say, “it is a stern fact ! It is Nature’s way of evolving a healthy, active, and powerful race. Only the fittest survive ; the rest are doomed.” Similarly *Herbert Spencer*, in his “Social Statics” :—“The shouldering aside of the weak by the strong, which leaves so many in shallows and miseries, is the decree of a large, far-seeing benevolence, regarded not separately, but in connection with the interests of universal humanity. To step in between weakness and

its consequences suspends the progress of weeding out those of lower development". And this "decree" Evolutionists tell us to accept! But, will you accept it, I ask, as applied to the less gifted—to, in fact, the large majority of your brother men? Are you content that, in the "struggle for existence," they shall be, through no fault of their own, "exploited" and "eliminated"? I appeal to you as Just men and women, as persons who believe that in Human Nature are germs of something better—something nobler—something more generous—than is to be found in Brutes—as believers in the old-fashioned notion of "Human Justice", and I ask you whether we ought not, as Just men, to let *Success* and *Merit* correspond, instead of, as at present, so arranging matters that, in the main, *one* set of human beings have nearly all the "merit", and *another* set, the greater part of the "success"!

But even *Nature*, with all her general harshness, yields an exception, on the side of Justice, in according, as *Professor Lloyd Morgan* lately told us, (in his Lecture on "The Struggle for Existence") "a greater measure of success" to those two species of Animals, "Ants and Bees," which, more than any other of the lower organisms, exemplify the working of what, if I were Irish, I should call that most "unnatural Law of Nature", the law, to wit, of "Mutual Aid"! Possibly *we* also might obtain a "greater success" than we do, if we took this law for our guidance altogether, in place of the other—

the principle of "Co-operation", I mean, in place of, "Competition"! Our very Self-interest would lead us (it would seem) to be unselfish! "Talk of mankind being ruled by *Self-interest*"! says Charles Kingsley, "Juggling fiend. It is their own bane! None are so *blind* to their own interest as the *selfish*!"

But I am bound, before I leave this topic of Nature's preparations for the social life of Human beings, to remind you secondly, that—apart from what *Justice* tells us of our duty to those unfortunates, whose congenital defects were caused by either their parents' vices, or the harshness of the Social System under which they were begotten—*Science* has instructed us, through the operations of the law of "Heredity," (and experience daily proves the soundness of that instruction, when the doctrines of "Heredity" are practically applied in the Breeding of the inferior species of Animals and Plants,) that it is possible so to prearrange the conditions of procreation, and of birth, and subsequent development, so to "organise in a word the antecedents and environment of individuals, as gradually to stamp out defects and improve the very *normal type* of species! "The child", (it is admitted,—and the lesson is enforced by none so strongly as by Evolutionists and Determinists themselves,) "is the father of the man"; and, "as the twig is bent the tree's inclined"!

Determinists indeed go further, and maintain, that there is no single element in indi-

vidual character and conduct, which is *not* dependent on antecedents and environment, external or internal; in which case, it would be clearly in the power of Society to fashion all its individual members, in the course of time, exactly after whatsoever pattern, moral, intellectual, and physical, might be most approved—and, in fact, to eliminate *all vice and crime* entirely, as well as to improve upon man's *physical* type.

But, without going so far as that, and even admitting (as I for one am forced to do—as the result of my study of men's natures) that there is an element, in at least many individuals, that nothing but the individual himself can control, and that it rests with such men themselves, and not with Society at all, whether they shall be industrious or idle, virtuous or vicious, selfish or public-spirited—even admitting this, I must still maintain, that it is in the power of any human community, by skilful application of the teachings of Heredity, and other informing influences, so to modify human character and mental and bodily constitutions, that much of the existing, and the at present increasing, inequalities in congenital endowment shall vanish; and it shall become, to a far greater extent than at present, a man's own personal fault, and the result of his own voluntary act and choice exclusively, if he does not succeed in life; and proportionally less the fault of either Nature or the arrangements of his Social System.

Mr. Darwin, in his "Descent of Man" has well said:—"Man scans with scrupulous care the character and pedigree of his horses, cattle, and dogs, before he matches them; but when he comes to his own marriage, he rarely, or never, takes any such care . . . Yet he might, by selection, do something, not only for the bodily constitution and frame of his offspring, but for their intellectual and moral qualities." In any case it is an end, surely, at which we all, as Just Men, ought to aim, so to equalise *men's opportunities*, as to throw the responsibility of any person's non-success in life, neither on Nature's shoulders, nor on his Neighbours', but exclusively on *his own*! And if Science has taught us *how* to manage this, surely sound *Policy and Good Sense* would prompt us to follow her teachings! The very aim and purpose of men's living in Society is that benefits may be obtained through the co-operation of several, such as are altogether unattainable by individual effort. And one of such benefits surely is that strength should come to the weak, and illumination to the dull, through their partnership with the clever and the strong; not that, as is too much the case at present, the strong and the clever should rise to greater personal heights by trampling on the bodies of the weak and stupid! As with Art, so with ~~Poetry~~—in the broad sense of that term—the aim should be, not servilely to copy Nature, but to *improve upon her*!

Pol.

At school I learnt in Latin the maxim that “though you turn out Nature with a pitchfork, she is sure to come running back again”! No doubt that is true! But in *Human Nature* (or is it in Divine grace—yet put within the reach of all?) there is a power—for moral purposes—superior to Nature’s non-morality! “Nature,” again it is said, “is conquered by obeying.” But modern moralists seem to think only of the “obeying” portion of the maxim, altogether forgetting that the “obedience” is rendered only with a view to *conquest*, and that Conquest is best effected by “Division—according to the well-known adage: “*Divide and conquer*”!—So may the internal forces of Human Nature be turned by Wisdom one against another, and Nature herself be compelled to supply the weapons for her own defeat!

“Keen was the pang! but keener far to feel
She nursed the pinion that impelled the steel”!

I have endeavoured, above, to contrast our actual treatment of the many and important *Natural Inequalities* between man and man with what I conceive would be our treatment of these, were we influenced by Justice and Sound Policy combined. I now come to our second head, viz.: THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES, to which I think we are justified in attributing a second large portion of the misery prevailing at present among us.

II. THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES.

I KNOW no definition of "Education", (as at least it ought to be)—so good as that of *Herbert Spencer*. Its aim and purpose is, according to him, to "prepare us for complete living". How few at present are "Educated" men or women according to that standard! Many indeed have thoroughly learned "their trade"; but not many know enough of the nature of those elaborately constructed and delicately balanced pieces of machinery we call their "bodies", or of the world in which those bodies "live and move and have their being", to be competent to take proper care of that Health which is the very first condition of Wealth! Not many, again, of either sex, have so far studied the nature and workings of the human *mind*, as to be capable of training wisely the little children who depend on them and look up to them as Gods! And, worst of all, very, very few indeed have been brought up to regard themselves as so many portions of a single Social Unit—"members one of another", owing, on the one hand, an incalculable debt to Past and Present human beings, and, on the other, responsible, to an equally incalculable extent, for the happiness of others in the Present and the Future. Very, very few indeed have been brought up to a sense of Human Solidarity, and to seek any other end than their own personal advantage!

“ Each for *himself* is still the rule :
We learn it, when we go to *school* :—
The Devil take the *hindmost* O !
And when the Schoolboys grow to *men*,
In life they learn it o’er again—
The Devil take the *hindmost* O ! ”

Moreover: while Selfishness, under the specious name of “*Emulation*”, is set before the young—often by the very ministers of the Christian Religion themselves—as the proper motive-power and spring of conduct, in preference to Public Spirit, little care is taken to discover, in each particular case, what sort of work boys severally and naturally are adapted for, and likely to prosper in! Yet this is, surely, one of the most important duties of the Educator. He ought not only to prepare each pupil for complete living, but to find out also, if possible, what sort of life is likely to develop most completely his individual powers. As *Dr. Lyon Playfair* says ;—“ In the school a boy should be aided to discover the class of knowledge that is best suited to his mental capacities ; so that, in the upper forms of the school, and in the university, knowledge may be specialised, so as to cultivate the powers of the man to their fullest extent”. But now, as a matter of fact, we often see—in the upper and middle classes at any rate, round men packed into square holes, and square men into triangular ones—an arrangement equally *mal-à-propos* as regards personal happiness and national economy—as ill-advised as would be the sowing of corn on

the hillsides of Burgundy, or the planting of vines in the stiff clay of Norfolk! To quote *Mr. Clough* again,

“Only let each man seek to be that which Nature intended!

If you were meant to plough, Lord Marquis,
out with you, and do it!

If you were meant to be idle, O beggar, behold,
I will feed you!

If you were born for a groom (and you seem by
your dress to believe so!)

Do't like a man, Sir George, for pay—in a livery
stable!”

The true prosperity of a country depends upon the character and prosperity of its individual citizens—of the great bulk of them, and not merely of an “upper ten thousand” among them. And it would seem to be a debt which a nation owes itself, and one which a wise and self-respecting nation would pay itself faithfully and ungrudgingly, to ensure to every single child born into its midst a *Liberal*, and also a *Technical* education—bestowed too, if need be, gratuitously! As it is, the different classes have their *different* schools, thereby perpetuating and deepening the objectionable and uncitizenlike class-feelings that prevail—setting up a barrier in the way of the children of the ruder and more ignorant parents learning by association the milder manners of the better circumstanced, and cutting them off from the best possible chance of acquiring those “man-

ners" which are the "making" of civilized man, and the possession of which really fits the lowest born for fellowship with even the most refined and highest in the Land. Again: thousands of children get no education at all at present, except in the "gutter", or in "homes" (so called) which are moral "hells". From such, unless like Cain we say we are "*not* our brother's keepers", we ought to save them! The masses again get very *limited* instruction; and have to *pay* for that! As to the middle and upper classes, such boys as have afterwards to earn their living are taught, not subjects of intrinsic value, such as Physiology and Social Science, but whatever is most likely to *pay*; while those who will never have to work at all are usually taught—as far as they are taught at all—whatever will enable them to *shine*!

The present *Lord Sherbrooke*, then Mr. Robert Lowe, passed several years ago in eloquent review our general system of "Primary and University Education". After a most ludicrous description of certain parts of our Public School Curriculum, he says:—"There is a sort of *worship of Inutility* in the matter. It seems to be thought very fine to learn something that cannot by possibility do any man any good:—

"The languages,—especially the *dead* ;
 All sciences—especially the *abstruse* ;
 The arts—at least all such as could be said
 To be *the most remote from common use* ;"

and, (after applying to the educational advantages obtainable, the remark made by Dr. Johnson on "the provisions at a certain Highland inn", viz.: "that the *negative* catalogue of them was very copious"), he sums up as follows :—"Our Education does *not* communicate knowledge ; it does *not* communicate to us the means of obtaining knowledge ; and it does *not* communicate the means of communicating knowledge".

Our *Girls*, again, instead of being trained in whatever will fit them to rule the house and make good daughters, sisters, wives, and mothers, are brought up (or "dragged up"—in some cases) to believe that "man's taste is woman's test", and that men have a "taste" for girls who imitate the wasp in figure and the butterfly in dress and accomplishment—an ideal from which however some, more energetic, afterwards revolt, and, feeling that they are fit for something nobler than that rôle, endeavour to *compete with men* as "bread-winners", at the risk, sometimes, I fear, of destroying their fine womanly nature ; unfitting themselves thereby for "matronage", which, as *Mrs. Fenwick Miller*, one of the wisest of her sex, declares, "is a profession in itself".

Education should aim, (should it not ?) at making each sex the *complement*, rather than the *rival*, or *copy*, of the other ; and should employ whatever means are likely to make girls womanly, and boys manly ; and, while fitting the *girls* to be mothers and trainers of

men, the solace and sunshine of the house, should bring up the boys to be strong bread-winners for wife and child, protectors of the weak, masters of themselves (for as Goethe says, "The best Government is that which teaches self-government") and through self-mastery both able servants, and equal members, of the Commonwealth!

Above all should Education — like Religion—make it her aim, from the beginning, to eradicate the seeds of "selfishness"—by no means of "self-love"—(the more self-love the better—if made the measure of our love to others!—) but of excessive self love, or "selfishness"! "Ambition" has been called "the last infirmity of *noble* minds," but I should prefer to stigmatise it as an infirmity of basest minds. Its power for evil, alike to the man who feels it, and to those against whom he brings it into play, is simply incalculable. So deeply planted is it however, and so prevalent a feature, in human nature, that it is said by many men to be altogether Quixotic and Utopian to attempt, as Socialists desire, to extirpate it! It is a Fools' Paradise, they say, which we are making. To whom I answer thus:

"Fools' Paradise, forsooth! that phrase
Fools to their fellow fools may tell;
Who makes an Eden must be wise!
The fool is he who makes a Hell!"

(*Jonas Fisher*)

Impossible to extirpate selfishness! Well,

I admit we cannot force the individual will—of grown up people at least; but we can work miracles on the young by Education! And we believe, with *Mr. Mill*, that “Mankind” (and *a fortiori* “childrenkind”) “are capable of a far greater amount of public spirit than the present age is accustomed to think possible”. A single line of *Browning’s* paints in miniature the power of Education:—

“*Deformed, Transformed, Reformed, Informed, Conformed.*”

The child of vicious ignorant parents is the raw material,—“DE-formed”! The final effect of Education on him is that he leaves the school “TRANS-formed”—to something different—to a quite “new creature”! Vicious habits have been changed to virtuous, and Rags and Dirt to Decency and Cleanness; thus is he RE-formed!

“And Knowledge to his eyes her ample page
“Rich with the spoils of time has opened wide”!

and that, and Religious teaching, and good example, and refined companionship, together, have IN-formed him! Lastly: from having been a selfish heartless, cruel, thievish, impudent, and thriftless rascal—a mere “Street Arab”, “a gamin”, and a “gutterboy”,—he has become CON-formed to a “man and brother”, (See the symbolical “Progress” of such a boy depicted in Part I. of *Cassell’s* “New Popular Educator”,) even if the raw

material in his case has not been good enough to make him susceptible of what *Mr. Huxley* calls a "liberal" education! Here is his admirably sketched description of that ideal:—"A liberal education is one that has not only prepared a man to escape the great evils of disobedience to natural laws, but has trained him to appreciate and seize upon the joys which Nature scatters with a free hand as her penalties. That man has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth, that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear cold logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam-engine, to be turned to any kind of work, to spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with the great and fundamental truths of nature and laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will—the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of Nature or of Art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself. Such a one, and no other", he thinks, "has had a liberal education!" And afterwards he enquires—"Where is such an education as this to be had? Where is there any approximation to it? Has any one tried to found such an education? Looking over the length and

breadth of these islands", he answers, "I am afraid that all these questions must receive a negative answer"! But again: an objector urges that "it can't be done"! Can't be done? What, are Men worse and more indocile than Brutes? And yet we have seen, some of us, going about the country, "Happy Families", in vans—Cats and Dogs, Wolves and Lambs, Hawks and Doves, living together in one cage harmoniously! Why can't we bring up our own children too to feel, all of them, as children of one parent? We Christian Socialists believe, with Adam Smith, that "what is prudence in the conduct of every private family can scarcely be folly in that of a great kingdom"—and *per contra*, that, if the employment of Selfseeking as a motive, and Unequal distribution of educational opportunities, tend to bring ruin on the fortunes and happiness of a Family, they are equally likely, only on a larger scale, to be fraught with disaster to a Nation! If only because we have distributed, or are soon about to distribute, political power equally, do we owe it to our fellowcitizens, and also to ourselves, to give them an education such as fits men for the suffrage! If for our own sakes only, we "classes" ought (was it not Mr. Bright who warned us?) to begin without delay to educate our "masters"—the "masses"! Ignorance is a germ of evil; but like the germs of zymotic diseases, it can be destroyed, and the diseases it tends to generate be stamped out, if we will

but use the preventive process of a really effective education, and do our best to fit each single child among us for complete and harmonious living. But we must look to the Quality as well as the Quantity of the Education we provide. Some years ago, *Leone Levi* ended a long statistical letter to the "Daily Telegraph" with the following paragraph:—"One more observation on the relation of education to crime, and I have done. It is remarkable that the counties which have the largest criminality are also the counties where there is the greatest ignorance, as elicited from the number of persons who were not able to sign their certificates of marriage. And further; it is worthy of note that, with all the schools in operation for many years past, the number of prisoners who could neither read nor write only diminished from 34·9 per cent. in 1863 to 33·6 per cent. of the whole in 1872. There is an enormous field yet open for the reformer and educationist; and *I commend to them strongly the concurrent education of the heart as well as of the mind of the great masses of the people*". The Temple, September 14, 1874.

Too many people think that it matters little *what* is taught, provided there is teaching of some kind. But if *Matthew Arnold* is right in his contention that "Conduct is three-fourths of life", it would seem wise on our part (if, as we should do, we regard Education as a means, and not an end) to pay even more attention to that side of Education which sup-

plies good motives and develops rightly the affections, than to that side which merely brings out power or ministers to pleasure. Year after year the Chaplain of Newgate Prison has pointed out that, to his certain knowledge, criminals are "made" by familiarity with evil literature of the "Jack Sheppard" type; and yet is the market still flooded with such books; and ever increasingly is the purity of families polluted by Divorce Court Revelations, and indecent pictorial representations, to say nothing of French Novels, which, as a Frenchman admits, "not even a monkey could read without a blush"—but still no effectual means are taken to dam up the stream of defiling pitch. *Laissez faire*, is the order of the day: *Laissez faire* in Politics; *Laissez faire* in Literature; *Laissez faire* also in Morals. And men seem utterly to have forgotten that, as Francis Bacon told his readers of Queen Elizabeth's time, "Since things alter for the worse spontaneously, if they be never altered for the better designedly, the evil is not likely to stop"! And our best opportunity by far for "altering things," or rather people, for the better, on either a small or a national scale, is to take them while they are young. "A stitch in time," says an English proverb, "saves nine"! And a German one tells us that "*Past* the Church, and *past* the school-house, is the road to the gallows"! "Every child born into the world", says the late C. Kingsley, "has a right to Education

The State, when it forbade his parents to destroy him", [that was a bit of Socialism!] —"when it compelled them to support him," [that was another bit!]—"is bound, further, to see that his existence is one fit for a civilized being. It has no right to compel the mass of citizens to receive among them every year a fresh crop of savages, to be a nuisance and a danger to the body politic"! And those among us who see the beauty of Education and feel its power in ourselves for good, may listen with profit to the late *W. R. Greg*, when he tells us that "Here surely is our appointed work, viz. : to raise the masses to the true standard of harmonious human virtue and capacity; not to strive ourselves to overleap that standard; not to put our own souls or brains into a hot-bed, but to put all our fellow-men into a fertile and wholesome soil !

Well then ! We Christian Socialists maintain that, on the one hand, the misery and crime among us are largely due to want of proper Education of a moral and a practically useful sort; and, on the other, that it is alike the duty of the State and her true interest, to take the necessary measures for fitting every one of her children without exception for "complete living"—for sharing both the labours and the joys of life—for both loving others and becoming loveable to others.

III. THE PRIVATE APPROPRIATION OF LAND, AND THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BENEFIT ARISING FROM IT.

THE remark has been made by *George Macdonald*, that “it is far easier to be kind than to be fair”; and, if we believe the late *Dr. Arnold*, of Rugby celebrity, “the highest virtue of which a man is capable, and the last at which he arrives, is the Sense of Justice”. Indeed, the very vulgarity of the familiar adage, “Be just before you are generous”, is itself a proof, were any needed, that men as a rule are more prone to be generous than to be just;—for the same reason perhaps that, in the matter of strong drink, it is easier to be abstinent than to be temperate! So to proportion shares in the distribution of the *Munera Pulveris*, as Mr. Ruskin calls “material wealth”, as to be quite fair to all affected by the distribution, and to hit the “*juste milieu*”, is, to such lopsided, partial, beings as mankind, a problem of the highest difficulty! In reference then to the “Land” belonging to the United Kingdom, or any other political unit,—when we consider that no man ever made, nor earned, the Land, nor any of the Raw Materials that it contains, it would seem—if it belongs, in its natural state, to Man at all—to belong, (like the atmosphere that rotates and revolves with it,) to the English People *as a whole*; and therefore that it ought to be looked upon in the light of what lawyers call an “Estray”, or

“Waif”, or “Treasure Trove”, and to be the property of Government—the Government holding it in Sacred Trust for the entire Community, and with the proviso that, by some arrangement or other, (but certainly *not* by its frequently renewed partition into equal allotments—one of them to be held by every citizen!) all the several individuals in the Community shall derive equal gratuitous benefit from it. But, while the fee simple should never be appropriated, every citizen would seem to have a natural right to the use of the site of a *home* upon the Land, and to a share in the pleasure derivable from the contemplation of its *natural beauties*, as well as *free passage* over its highways. Further,—as the only source of any nation’s, or of any individual’s, wealth is the Land, in the economical sense of that word, it must surely be the duty of the National Trustee to see that every single citizen who is desirous of doing his share of the nation’s work—every joint producer of the nation’s wealth—has access either to the Land itself, or to such Raw Materials extracted from it as are required to make his work effective. If the Trustee did his duty, no such anomaly would be seen as *Mr. Reaney*, I think it was, described last month, as visible, viz.:—unemployed Agricultural Labourers coming into London in search of work, all through this winter, at the rate of eight hundred per week, and coming most of them, in vain; or such a sight as *Prince Kropotkin* describes, viz.:—

“thousands of men who would consider themselves happy if they were permitted to transform (under the guidance of experienced men) the heavy clay of Middlesex into a rich soil, and cover with rich cornfields and orchards the acres of meadowland which now yield only a few pounds’ worth of hay”! “Plenty of pitmen,” too, he says, there are just now, “who asks for nothing better than to be permitted to extract coal and supply with cheap fuel the households where children are shivering before empty chimneys”. No! If, I say, the National Trustee had, in our case, known and done his duty to his cestuique trusts, us Britons, no such anomaly would ever be seen as myriads of English freemen worse off than Pharoah’s bondmen, for they could at least get work, and so food and shelter. But even “work” we deny to many—“work” we deny in the presence of thousands of acres, and hundreds of tons of materials, that crave the workmen’s aid as either agriculturists, or miners or manufacturers! So it was fifty years ago when he who sang the “Song of the Shirt”—the wail of *Overwork*—expressed also the *Workless* workman’s feelings in his eloquent

“SONG OF THE LABOURER”:

“A spade, a rake, a hoe,
 A pickaxe, or a bill!
 A hook to reap, or a scythe to mow,
 A flail—or what ye will!

And here's the ready hand
 To ply the needful tool,
 And skilled enough, by lessons rough,
 In labour's rugged school !
 'To hedge, or dig the ditch,
 To lop, or fell the tree,
 'To lay the swarth on the sultry field,
 Or plough the stubborn lea ;
 'The harvest stack to bind,
 The wheaten rick to thatch,—
 And never fear in my pouch to find
 The tinder or the match !
 'To a flaming barn or farm
My fancies *never* roam ;
 'The fire *I* yearn to kindle and burn
 Is on the hearth of *Home*—
 Where starving children huddle and crouch,
 To see the cheerful rays
 A-glowing on the haggard cheek,
 And *not* in the haggard's blaze !

No parish money, or loaf,
 No pauper badges for me !
A son of the soil—by right of toil—
Entitled to my fee !
 No alms I beg—give me my task !
 Here are the arm—the leg—
 The strength, the sinews, of a man—
 To work, and not to beg ! ”

But how has our National Trustee done his duty ? Has he acted rightly—has he even acted prudently—in permitting (and, remember, I state nothing as a fact which I cannot

prove !) in permitting actually Four-Fifths of our whole National possession in Land (in these Islands, I mean) to be monopolised by a number of persons so small that the whole of them—together with their wives and children—did not in 1870, equal in number the then population of the Isle of Wight? Again I ask: Is it either Just or Expedient that, while the actual labourers on our lands are hardly able to earn enough to keep body and soul together, there should be thousands of persons (called by way of distinction, “Ladies and Gentlemen”) living on the Rents of these same lands, who, while in most cases, they take on themselves no smallest share of the National *work* are enabled by the “Rent” system to consume, on their own personal satisfactions, so enormous a proportion of the *Produce* of the total National Labour? Mind! I am finding no fault at all with any individual man or woman, but only with the system which has been set up among us. I am simply enquiring, in reference to that system, and also asking you to ask yourselves,—whether it is just or unjust, wise or unwise; and am judging it by its fruits—as well as by that standard of Ideal Justice, on which good men in general are agreed.

But, apart altogether from the question of Land Appropriation; and even on the supposition that such appropriation was wise and right, we have to consider the further question of the “Unearned Increment”—i.e.—that addition to the value of a plot of land or a house

which is derived from either the discovery, say, of an unexpected mineral treasure underneath, or the approximation of a railway, or a town, or other creation of society, to it.

Here we have an element of value—often of untold value—which the present system allows the temporary holder of the land to appropriate, although no labour of his or of any one else for him has earned it, and he can plead no moral right to it at all! It is either a gift of Nature, or the result of the action of others, not himself; and, in either case, would seem to belong in justice, *to the nation as a whole*. And yet we find “a piece of land in Holborn”, which in 1552 cost £160, bringing to its present owner an income of £5,000 a year! Again: an acre of land in South Kensington, which so recently as 1852, sold for £3,200, fetched only eight years later the sum of £23,250! And whereas, after the “great fire” of London, in 1660, the price of an acre of “the most valuable uncovered land” in the Metropolis was £30,000, I have noticed, within a year, that that quantity has fetched £1,500,000!!

Now it hardly seems fair, (does it?) that lucky individuals should be so lucky—in connection with what rightly is the Nation’s property! And it is not, N.B., merely the enrichment of these individuals by no merit of their own that we find fault with, but the exactly proportionate impoverishment of those who will afterwards have to make payments to the purchasers of these expensive properties or

their assignees! For, suppose, e.g., it is a Railway Company that bought the land, to build a station on—there will be this consequence for one of the high price, that a certain additional sum will be charged to every traveller on that line, in consequence!

Moreover, so preposterous is the working of our present system, that, whereas most people would suppose that the “Preacher” was right in saying that “the profit of the Earth is for all; the King himself is served by the field”, we actually find American farmers alleging that “the curse of that country is that they have *too much land*”! By which they mean that if they stint their labourers in wages, these latter will be able to get hold of land and make themselves into small Farmers instead of labourers; while they, the farmers, will have to work their own land as labourers—a most undesirable situation!

The high price of land, which, under the system of Private Property in Land, must necessarily increase with Population, (and indeed we find that Rent in this country is now on the average fourteen times as great as it was 500 years ago!) is, again, a source of enormous evil as regards the housing of the workers of our cities. With increased ground rents come increased house rents, and such shockingly insanitary conditions in some parts of our cities, that—to take an extreme case—of Liverpool some forty years ago—the “Chances of life” of the “gentry”, who lived

in the most healthy part of that town were actually more than *four times as great* as those of the residents in some poorer quarters! As *Dr. T. L. Nichols*, commenting on that fact, remarked,

“The wicked, it is said, do not live out half their days; but the poor and ignorant people of this country—the workers who support themselves and all above them by their labour—do not, in whole districts, live out one quarter of their days”!

Dr. J. R. Russell too, lecturing in Edinburgh to a working-class audience, in the winter of 1881-2, observed:—“Workmen have often complained to me of the high rents and comparatively small number of houses suited for working men in Edinburgh. They complain that the rent of a large house may be only four per cent. upon its value, and yet ten per cent. upon value may be charged for low-class property”.

In the cities of this so-called “Christian” country, the housing of the working section of the community is indeed in many instances at the same time a discredit to Civilization and a disgrace to Christianity! Otherwise, without point and futile would be the solemn parable uttered by *Mr. Russell Lowell* on the contrast between Church and Cottage, between the show of honour done to Christ in Ecclesiastical Art and the actual dishonour done to His living representatives—the Poor:—

A PARABLE.

Said Christ our Lord, "I will go and see
How the men, my brethren, believe in me!"
He passed not again through the gate of Birth,
But made Himself known to the children of
earth!

Then said the Chief Priests, and Rulers, and
Kings,
"Behold now the Giver of all good things!
Go to; let us welcome with pomp and state
Him who alone is Mighty and Great!"

With carpets of gold the ground they spread,
Wherever the Son of Man should tread,
And in palace chambers lofty and rare
They lodged Him and served Him with kingly
fare!

Great organs surged through arches dim
Their jubilant floods in praise of Him,
And in Church, and Palace, and Judgment
Hall,
He saw His image high over all!

But still, wherever His steps they led,
The Lord in sorrow bent down His head;
And from under the heavy foundation stones
The Son of Mary heard bitter groans!

And in Church, and Palace, and Judgment
Hall,
He marked great fissures, that rent the wall
And opened wider and yet more wide,
As the Living Foundation heaved and sighed!

“Have ye founded your thrones and altars then
On the bodies and souls of Living Men?
And think ye that building shall endure
Which shelters the Noble and crushes the
Poor?”

“With gates of silver and bars of gold
Ye have fenced my sheep from their Father’s
fold;
I have heard the dropping of their tears
In heaven these eighteen hundred years!”

“O Lord and Master, not ours the guilt;
We built but as our fathers built;
Behold Thine Images—how they stand
Sovereign and sole through all our land”!

.

Then Christ sought out an artisan,
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin
Pushed from her faintly Want and Sin.

These set He in the midst of them;
And, as they drew back their garment hem
For fear of defilement,—“Lo, here,” said He,
“The Images ye have made of Me!”

Again: while it is very likely true that more produce can be got out of a given piece of land, if cultivated on the “large”, than on the “small” farm principle (and N. B. we might combine the benefits of Large and Small farming, on the Co-operative plan!) it is admitted by all who have treated the subject—that the small farm system is much better for the

men who farm ; and, after all, wealth is for the sake of men, and not men for the sake of wealth ! How true are still, how much more true of England *now*, than when *Goldsmith* wrote them, those lines of his “Deserted Village”:—

“ Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where *wealth* accumulates and *men* decay :
Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath has made :
But a bold peasantry, their country’s pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied !”

Where is now, e.g., the *Crofter* class of the Scottish Highlands—the “most intelligent peasantry in the world”—the late *Dr. Norman M’Leod* called them. “They occupied a few acres of arable land, each ; with right of peat and pasture on the mountain, and of fishing, if near the sea or a loch. The crofter’s house was often built by himself, the byre for the cows and the barn for his crop being under the same roof. He usually possessed some cattle, sheep, and a pony or two, a boat, nets, and fishing gear, and a good supply of needful implements and household furniture. His croft supplied him with food and a great part of his clothing ; his annual sale of cattle paid his rent ; he had abundance of dried fish or salt herrings for winter use ; and he thus lived in a rude abundance, with little labour, and knew nothing of the unremitting daily toil by which labourers in other parts of the country gain their

livelihood." That is the description given of the Highland Crofter Class in *Sir John Macneill's* "Report on the Western Highlands and Islands"! And *now*—where are they and their children? Denizens of the unwholesome slums of cities, or of workhouses—or forced to leave their native land for ever!

Again, we get some notion of the contrast between the earlier distribution, and the modern centralisation, of landed property in this country, from the records of a farm called Holt, in the parish of Clapham, Sussex. The history of this, consisting of 160 acres, has been traced back to the 13th century. *Then* there was a hamlet on it; and there are still extant *twenty-one* separate conveyances in fee of different portions of this land. In the year 1400 the number of proprietors began to decrease; by the year 1520 it was reduced to *six*; in the reign of James I. it dwindled to *two*; and soon after the Restoration, (1660,) the whole became the property of *one owner*, who let it as a farm to *one tenant*! ("Quarterly Review", No. 81, p. 250.) The truth is that, in England, previously to the reign of Henry VII., Agricultural Labourers, like the Scottish Crofters of last century, had each, as a rule, a small croft or parcel of land attached to his dwelling, with the right of turning out a cow, or a few pigs, or sheep, into the woods, commons, or wastes, of the manor. But all this was changed by the consolidation of small farms in the 16th century into large ones, and

by the Enclosure, a hundred years ago, of Commons and waste lands—this completing the process by which the labourer was thrown, for his sole dependence, on money wages. And, as *Mr. D. Syme* says, and *Mr. A. R. Wallace* agrees with him, “If the labourers of any country are entirely dependent on wages for their subsistence, wages will generally be low; but if they have other means of subsistence, if they can employ their own labour with advantage to themselves, wages will generally be high”.

Have I not proved, up to the hilt, my proposition, that our Land system is irremediably unfair, and irretrievably impolitic? We need an entirely new one. The wonder is that, under our “beneficent” and generous law of “Competition,” we have not had “Enclosure Acts” passed, by our parliament of landlords, in reference to the *Air*, as well as the *Land*! Happily for the community at large, the volatility and impalpability of *Air*, as well as its comparatively unlimited extent, make such enclosure difficult! But, from demanding Rent for *Land*, and for *Water*, there is but a single step to the demand of Rent also for *Air to breathe!*

While we hold with *Herbert Spencer* that “Equity does not permit property in land”, so, with *Professor Blackie*—a staunch Conservative, I believe—we maintain that “much accumulation of land tends to evil.” Both of these allegations I have endeavoured to prove.

I do not deny that there is, in most of the plots of land in a cultivated country like our own, an element of value which is entirely due to some cultivator's labour or skill, and which may as properly be "owned" and sold, or given, or bequeathed, from a moral point of view, as the "wages" that a day labourer has earned—that element, I mean, which farmers call the "tenant-right". And, with *Mr. J. S. Mill*, I believe, that, if there is any means of discriminating, in respect of any piece of land, between these two elements of value—the one attributable to individual skill and toil, and the other which accrues from either Nature's gift or the action of Society,—while the latter element ought certainly to be Nationalised, the former might, without injustice, be dealt with still as "private property"! And—but here I speak not for "Christian Socialists" as a body, but only for myself individually—I think the means of making this distinction *justly* have been devised and pointed out to us in *Mr. Alfred R. Wallace's* most statesmanlike and thorough-going scheme for "Land Nationalisation"; and that by the adoption of that scheme the nation has it in its power at least to escape the guilt of *Injustice* in re the Land; though, probably it would be thought by Socialists to be more expedient ultimately that the Land, *in both its values*, become and be treated as National property—individual cultivators of land, like individual breakers of stones on the Queen's highway, being recompensed only in

proportion to the time and trouble they have given to the work of agriculture.

“The old Laws of England—they
Whose reverend heads with age are grey,
Children of a wiser day—”

do indeed in form admit (as *Joshua Williams*, one of the highest authorities on the subject, tells us), that “No man is in law the absolute owner of lands, he can only hold an estate in them”. But that, in the presence of the facts before us, has only the value of a legal quibble! “May I not do”, asked a recent *Duke of Newcastle*, “what I will with mine own”—referring to his lands? Let *Mirabeau* reply:—“Supposing”, he says, “that every man had a tomb erected to him, as a possession for ever, why, it would be necessary in time, in order to find land to till, to disturb the ashes of the dead, that their descendants might be fed”!

In this last section of my lecture I have made several references to men’s “Natural Rights”. And this reminds me that some very clever men, especially lawyers, deny the existence of such things as “Natural Rights”! They regard them as purely fabulous—like the “Man in the Moon” or the “Jack” who climbed the “Beanstalk” to pay a morning call on him! A very distinguished clergyman, e.g., to whom I sent one of our pamphlets, in which the term “Natural Rights” occurs, wrote me in reply:—“I think it leads

to nothing but confusion to assume that men are born with certain natural rights". Perhaps it does! and I certainly cannot produce any "conveyance" on parchment drawn up in legal form and transferring such "rights" from Nature to Man! In using the term "Natural rights", however, I am not referring to, or founding an argument upon, any imaginary "social contract" entered into between the originators of society. What I mean by "Natural Rights" is simply those "rights" which our very bodily and mental "nature" would appear to imply, and to confer upon us! For instance, we cannot *live* at all without "Air" and "Land"; and, as we find ourselves within reach of "Air" and "Land" convenient to us, and as no other being, or species, is able to plead any prior right, or stronger ground of right, to these, than we can, to the exclusion of our claim, we—or at any rate *I*—feel justified in saying that our very "nature" gives us a "right" to such Air and Land; and that, in that sense and to that extent, Men as a species have a "natural right" to the use of these too elements! Again: when we compare one human being with another, and observe that we are all *similarly constituted* in this respect, viz. that Air and Land are *sine quibus non* to every one of us alike, if we are to "live" at all,—we, or at least *I*, feel justified in saying further that one man's "natural right" to a share in the enjoyment of the benefits of Air and Land is just as good as is any other man's;

—in other words, that we all *equally* have a “natural right,” to benefit from these two elements, and “a right” to benefit from them *to an equal extent*; except in so far as a man with larger lung capacity may have a “natural right” to a larger measure of Air to breathe, and a six-foot man may have a “natural right” to a larger grave (or a higher funeral pile, if “cremation” is preferred) than a five-foot one!!

If one man is able to plead a “right” to a larger share of land than another has, such right is not a “natural”, but an “artificial” one—one made by man; and what man has made, man can unmake! So far from our “legal” and our “natural” rights being co-extensive and co-incident, we Christian Socialists believe that one man often has a “natural”, or a “moral”, right to what is, by “legal” right, so-called, another’s. By a “Moral” right I mean, of course, a “right” resting upon “Justice”, a “just claim” in fact; and the threefold distinction between these several sorts of “Rights” may be illustrated by the following example:—“While all citizens have “natural” rights, and equal “natural” rights, to benefit from the *National Land*, each individual worker has a “moral” right to the full produce of his personal *Labour*; *per contra*, capitalist employers in this country have a “legal” right to intercept a portion of that produce in the shape of *Interest*, and to apply it “to their own advantage”!

“There is”, says *Jules Simon*, “no grander school of philosophy, politics, and administra-

tion, than the French Revolution. It committed many faults—which were painfully expiated, and which serve as lessons—but it was the first to give expression to those principles of “Natural Rights” which have since—thanks to it—become, to all nations, the principles of “Political Right”. Yes, to the more advanced among the thinkers—the dreamers—as they are called “in all nations”—but not yet, alas! to *their Governments!* Modern Political Economy divorces Politics equally from “Natural Right” and from “Ethics”; but we Christian Socialists, with the ancient Greeks, perceive that these are branches of *One Science*; with *Cardinal Manning* maintaining further that, “Wherever Political Economy comes into collision with “Moral Laws” (in re the Land or aught else) “it ought to be repulsed and cast back”!



LECTURE II.

THE Fourth of my “seven lean kine” now comes upon the scene, namely

THE MOST UNWISE AND UNJUST DISTRIBUTION OF CAPITAL THAT PREVAILS AMONG US.

Political Economists tell us that, in producing wealth, three agents need to be employed : (1) Land ; (2) Capital ; and (3) Labour.

They say, nearly all of them—that if any of these three be absent, “wealth” can no longer be produced. *Henry George* on the other hand would fain have us believe that “Capital” is *not* an essential condition at all in the production of wealth. And, in the absence of historical records, it is but reasonable to suppose, that the *first* man or men of all who produced any wealth began *without* any capital! For,—“Capital” being defined as “that part of the wealth already produced which, (like the seed corn subtracted from the total grain crop,) is set aside, (instead of being consumed,) in order to be used in producing a further quantity, a *second* crop, of wealth—it does seem difficult to see how any factors except “Land” and “Labour” could have co-operated in producing wealth on the *very first* occasion of all! Still, it must be admitted that, as a *general* fact, the Political Economists are justified in naming “Capital”

as, equally with "Land" and "Labour," a normal and most important coadjutor in the process of wealth - production. When however the advocates of the present system defend the Capitalist's right, (however free his position is from risk, and however dissociated from labour) to receive profit or "Interest" on his "Capital," on the ground that this is an *essential*, and that Labour *could not* get wealth out of Land without its aid; they ignore such indubitable facts of history as Mr. Kaufmann records in his "Socialism and Communism", to wit, that working men have, in several instances, started businesses, (now flourishing and extensive,) with "only a few tools" to begin with, and "small sums of money collected from their savings, or lent by other working men still poorer than themselves"! "Often," says Mr. Fenguera (as quoted by J. S. Mill) "there was no money at all in hand, and no wages could be paid. The goods did not go off, the payments did not come in, bills could not get discounted, the warehouse for materials was empty; they had to submit to privation, to reduce all expenses to a minimum, to live sometimes on bread and water . . . It is at the price of these hardships and anxieties that men who began with hardly any resource but their good will and their hands, succeeded in creating customers, in acquiring credit, *forming at last a joint capital*, and thus founding associations whose futurity now seems assured." One such body of men, e.g., applied in 1849 to

Government (in France this was) for a subvention of 300,000 francs ; but was refused. Yet, with hardly any cash or credit, they formed an association, starting on 10 March, 1849, with a stock worth 2,294 francs. For two months they worked on without wages—pawning what moveables they owned for bread. By May 4 they had been paid for a few orders they had executed. They then paid their debts and dined fraternally together. Well ! in 1852,—i.e., three years after the commencement,—there were 32 shareholders among them, owning a capital of 3,293,002 francs ! “What a plastic little creature is man !” (says *Mr. Emerson*) “so shifty !—so adaptive !—his body a very chest of tools !” Truly says the same philosopher, “the world belongs to the Energetic—belongs to the wise !”

Give “Labour” by itself free access to the “Land,” and beyond all question, wealth *can* be produced ! Capital is a most valuable accessory—but *not* an actual *necessity*—to Human Labour. And there is no reason in the nature of things themselves why “Capital,” which is always the Child of Labour, should habitually, as he does in this country, violate the 5th Commandment, leave his meritorious old parent bereaved of his support and comfort,—nay, possessing, as he does, a giant’s strength, should use it tyrannously, “as a giant,” *against* the interests of the very parent to whom he owes his being !

“A Capitalist,” said *Mirabeau*, “is the most timid animal in existence !” And we have

only to glance at the rise and fall of the stocks in any daily paper to see that

“ Age has not wither-ed, nor Custom staled ”

the truth of that bitter saying ! Can it be that the Capitalist doubts his moral position ? A certain dramatist, holding the mirror up to Human Nature, has remarked :—

“ An *honest* soul is like a ship at sea,
That sleeps at anchor when the Ocean’s calm ;
And when it rages, and the winds blow high,
She cuts her way with *skill* and *majesty*.”

The “ most timid animal in existence ” cutting his way with majesty !!! We boast of our “ Liberty ” in England ; but the true test of any man’s “ Liberty ” is found, according to *H. Spencer*, in the degree in which the work he does is for “ his own,” or for “ another’s ” benefit. I am afraid that, under our present system of monopolies of Land and Capital, very few among us can claim to be really “ free ” in Herbert Spencer’s sense !

I quarrel not the least, whatever other Socialists may do, with *such differences of fortune as result from different uses made of equal opportunities by virtuous and vicious men respectively*. I hold, with *S. Paul*, as a fundamental social axiom, that whoever refuses to “ work,” ought not to be allowed to “ eat ” ; but I—we Christian Socialists, *all* of us—quarrel with those “ laws of property,” which, as *J. S. Mill* reminds us, “ have made property of things that

never ought to have been property; and absolute property, where only a qualified property ought to exist;—which have not held the balance fairly between human beings, but have heaped impediments on some to give advantages to others; which have purposely fostered inequalities and prevented all from starting fairly in the race”!

“Life,” said the Chelsea cynic, “will anywhere swallow a man, unless he rise and vigorously try to swallow it!” But what a swallow a working man must have—a man of average capacity, I mean—to be able to take in, and turn to nutritious purposes, our existing Industrial System! I used to possess a curious, nearly globular, dead fish—stuffed it was—the skin of which was, like the hedgehog’s, armed with tremendously sharp and stubborn spikes—the fish, when alive, being able to make these stand out at right angles to its body, while the body itself swelled out simultaneously into a spiked ball of a foot or more in diameter, whenever the fish was angry and pursued by some hungry monster of the deep! Not a pleasant morsel, this, I should think, for its pursuer—however hungry and wide-throated! Well, “Life”—as a would-be wealth-producing “worker” has to try to swallow it—is something *like that fish* when it is angered! and what makes life seem so “prickly” to a working man, and makes it so hard for him to “kick against its pricks,” is—in part—the Tyranny of Capital, own child though it be to Labour, over Labour!

In the ten years that passed between 1875 and 1885, an *addition* was made to the wealth of this country, (as we infer by comparing the assessments to Taxation in those two years,) of £60,000,000!—being nearly one-hundredth of our *total* amount of wealth! Wealth, I mean, to the extent of sixty millions sterling was produced in those ten years, in this country, *beyond what was consumed!* And the greater portion of that great addition—say five-sixths, or fifty millions sterling,—would, we may suppose, be *capitalised*, i.e., employed in the work of “reproducing wealth.” Now, if, taking one part of those £50,000,000 with another, the Rate of Interest paid upon the whole was 5 per cent.—a very moderate supposition—we have here an *Additional Income* of £2,500,000 to be provided annually out of the gross money-proceeds of the labour of the country—£2,500,000 a year *additional* to be earned by the *workers* of the country, and to be paid, in the shape of “Interest,” “Profits,” or “Dividends”, to the investing Capitalists!—so much *additional* to be *deducted* from the price ultimately received for the work (after satisfaction of all claims on account of “Superintendence,” “Wear and Tear,” “Insurance against Risk,” and so forth)—to be *deducted* from the gross money-produce of the work—and of course, and necessarily, to the *proportional diminution* of the net balance left for payment in *wages* to the actual workers!

Now—in regard to such *interceptions* of part

of the *price* paid for work on its way to the workers' pockets—two obvious questions arise:

(1) Is such deduction of "Interest" for private profit "Just"?—and (2) Is it Expedient"?

Professor F. W. Newman suggests a reply to the first of these two questions in his remark ("Lectures on Political Economy," p. 14) that "It is just to receive what another is willing to give." But at that rate, *Shylock's* bargain was a "just" one; at that rate, *Jacob* was "justified" in buying *Esau's* birth-right for a "mess of pottage"; and the Israelites were "justified" in "borrowing" jewels of the Egyptians, though knowing well that they never would nor could repay them! If one man's extremity, or what in his ignorance or terror he supposes to be his "extremity," may be held to give another a "just" occasion for screwing and for squeezing him to the utmost of his consent—there is hardly any cruelty—and there is no rate of Interest, however high—that might not be "justified!" But no really "just" man (even though the laws of his country allowed it) would act like either *Shylock* or *Esau*. A truly "just" man would feel, in the one case, that Hunger, and in the other that Misfortune, had put his neighbour at so great a disadvantage as to incapacitate him for holding the balance rightly as between his *true*, and his *only seeming*, interests!

And, in regard to "Capital" in general, it would be recognised, as in regard to "Land,"

that an old and wealthy community like ours, in assigning a certain portion of *work* to any individual, both owed it to him, as a matter of Justice, and owed it to itself as a matter of Expediency, not merely to supply him with the requisite tools and materials and workshop to work upon and with and in, but also to furnish him with the wherewithal to live upon between the seed time and the harvest of his work—between the process of producing a commodity and the time of payment for the finished product. Willing workers are, surely, of the whole population, that section which it is the worst policy for the State, to stint in the matter of “Capital”! From its Producers, and from them alone, has the Nation received its existing stock of wealth, and to them, and to them alone, it has to look for its replenishment; and they therefore least of all should be hampered, or “straightened” or starved, while at work for the general advantage!

The late *Mr. Nassau Senior* thought he had justified “Interest” by describing it as the “remuneration of abstinence.” But, if a soldier, having received his breakfast ration has “abstained” from eating it, and then at dinner-time puts in a claim for more than his breakfast and dinner rations combined, on the ground that this “abstinence” of his, has deserved “remuneration”,—will he receive the extra bit he asks for? I trow not! The postponement of enjoyment from the present to the future, carries with it its own reward.

No doubt, if the lender of money or of tools, is able to shew that he would have used them himself, and with profit to himself, in case he had not lent them, he has a claim to the extent of the advantage he has thus foregone! No doubt too, if the loan is attended with any risk of a failure to repay, the lender may fairly claim to be insured against such risk at the cost of the borrower! But these are very far from being concomitants or conditions of "Lending" as it is normally practised at the present day; what "Interest" usually means being that the Borrower's "necessity" is made the Lender's "opportunity" for screwing as much as possible out of him, even if the risk of loss be infinitesimal and the sacrifice of opportunity be *nil*!

A further confirmation of my contention that the "Interest" system is, as a general rule, Unjust, lies in the following chain of facts:—(1) the "Interest" paid to the Capitalist Employer is really a part of, (being abstracted from,) the produce of the worker's work, i.e., the price which it actually and ultimately fetches; (2) the worker has a moral right to receive the *whole* of the final "price" fetched by his work (supposing that price to be a fair one); for (3) he would not require the co-operation of a "Capitalist," or the assistance of any private "capital" at all,—if the State had done its obvious and primary duty to him, and had, on the one hand, prevented the Impropriation of Land, and on the other, so far

organised the national work as at least to supply its employés with Tools, and Workshops, and an *advance*, (for it need not be a Gift!) of the Necessaries of Life, in amount sufficient to support them until the price of their work was paid to them. (4) The circumstance that the State has grossly neglected these parts of its duties does not weaken or diminish the "moral" right of the workers to receive the *full* value of their labour, any more than it gives any "moral" right to private persons to usurp the State's neglected functions as employers of labour, and to make private profit out of such usurpation! But a "legal" right such persons have undoubtedly to exact "Interest" on the "Capital" they have provided, and so much of "moral" right in addition as Professor Newman's argument secures for them, viz. :—such "moral" right as Jacob, the "Supplanter," had to the "birth-right" of Esau, and as his descendant, Shylock, had to Antonio's "pound of flesh"!

It is undeniable that in this, as in most "progressive" communities, so-called, arrangements have been made which enable enterprising, extra clever, or extra lucky, individuals, by careful living and economy, carried on for one or two generations, on the one hand to place their own posterity for ever, (if only these exercise the commonest and most selfish prudence,) in a position to live altogether without working, and, on the other hand, to saddle the *maintenance* of these fortunate ones as an extra burden

on the Working class for all future generations. And thus, whereas, as *Mr. Gladstone* once wisely said, "it ought to be the aim of legislators to make Virtue easy and to put hindrances in the path of Vice," the Vice of Idleness has actually been encouraged among us to an extent incalculable through the action of our "Interest" system—a system which enables the Idle to tyrannise over the Industrious, and the child born with the "Silver Spoon" *Capital* in his mouth to "exploit" the much more numerous and deserving class that press their tender gums at birth upon the "Iron Spoon" of *Labour*!

It can be proved to demonstration that to these two principles, of "Rent" and "Interest," is due an enormous proportion of our present misery. Look, e.g., at the actual distribution of *Property* and of *Income*, as it was in 1870 (and I have no reason to suppose that matters have improved since then). Well, at that time—the Population being thirty millions—two of these thirty millions, (i.e., one fifteenth, or 7 per cent. of the whole,) made up the "Upper Class," comprising 450,000 families. And this two millions, or 7 per cent. of the population, enjoyed amongst them, according to the best computers (e.g., Leone Levi, and Dudley Baxter) 42 per cent. of the entire *Income* possessed by the entire Population, leaving only 58 per cent. of the total *Income* to be divided between the remaining fourteen-fifteenths, or 93 per cent. of the population,

though these latter included nearly all the wealth *producers*! And again, as regards *Realized Property*, (as distinguished from *Income*,) I mean Land, Houses, Moveables, and Capital—this Upper-Class two millions, (or one-fifteenth, or 7 per cent., of the population,) monopolised *a larger proportion still* than in the case of “Income”; for they actually owned amongst them not less than two-thirds of the Total Realised Property of the country! I refer to the year 1870 in particular only because I happen to have the figures for that year, and no other, by me.

Now, do you think that a system can be fair, or can be wise, or will endure, under which such facts as these are possible? You surely do not believe (*I* at least do not) that the whole of this disparity was caused by personal default, by the vices or extravagance of working men, or is due to that and Natural Inequalities combined!

A man like Vanderbilt makes, in his single life-time, a fortune of many millions sterling. Is the system a good one which encourages such money-making? And, this one man's gratification—at the cost of how many men's, and women's and children's tears, and discouragements, and anguish, was it not obtained? Had all alike, with whom he had business relations, benefited from the *Land*—had *Labour* received its *full* reward, without any deduction for payment of “Interest” to Capitalists—such a fortune could not possibly have been made!

Bishop Berkeley asked many years ago "Whether a door ought not to be shut against all other methods of growing rich save only by industry and merit?" and "whether Wealth got otherwise would not be ruinous to the public?" And another *Bishop (Jewell, of 3 centuries ago)* described this "Interest" system as "a monster in nature, the overthrow of mighty kingdoms, the destruction of flourishing states; the decay of wealthy cities; the plague of the world; and the misery of the people"! Fact and Theory, Reason and Observation, give identical replies. It is an evil system! All the wealth that is required for Public, or for Private, purposes might well be provided by Public labour out of the Public land—gratuitously, if for Public purposes—and in return for personal Labour, if for private ones. With the Nation as the *only* Landowner, and the Nation as the *only* great Capitalist, with the Nation also as the *sole employer of Labour*, Society might manage to get on—audacious as the statement seems!—without the assistance of either "Landlord" or "Capitalist"! We believe, with the *Rev. W. Cunningham*, of Cambridge, that though "doubtless in many cases the Nation was the gainer by the energy of those who pushed their business so as to make fortunes for their families, the permanent charge on the Nation, which is involved in supporting their posterity, is a terribly heavy price to pay for the benefit that has accrued through the enterprise of these forgotten Capitalists"

Our present system is also the parent of another sort of evil—powerfully delineated in that article by *Prince Kropotkin* to which I have more than once referred:—"Our owners of Capital," he says, "while trying to replace men by machinery" [not for the men's sake, of course, and not to the men's advantage—but purely to and for their own!] and "to produce more wares with fewer hands, are also continually endeavouring to *limit the production*, in order to sell at higher prices." [Their feeling, you see, is just analogous to that of the farmer who found fault with the plentifulness of Land in the United States.] "When the benefits of a concern are going down, the owner of the Capital limits the production; or totally suspends it; and prefers to engage his Capital in foreign loans, or shares of Patagonian gold mines! Just now there are thousands of weavers, who ask for nothing better than to weave stuff in order to replace the Whitechapel rags with linen; and at the same time there are thousands of factories lying idle in the United Kingdom alone! But the "men" and the "factories" are kept apart, just because the master "Capital," finds it more advantageous to supply the Khedive with harems, and the Russian Government with "Strategic Railways," and Krupp guns! The maintenance of harems pays: it gives 10 to 15 per cent. on the capital; while the extraction of coal" [particularly if proper means are taken to prevent explosions of fire-damp] "does

not pay; i.e., it brings in only 3 to 5 per cent.”: and that is a sufficient reason for limiting the output of coal, for keeping the colliers out of work, or at least for reducing their pay, and for making that necessary of life more expensive to every consumer! It is not the interest of the Country in general at all, and still less the interest of the working class that is considered; but solely the personal and family interests of the lords of Land and Capital!!

Again: if a new machine—a labour-saving, or a time-saving, machine—is introduced—while, under a wise and patriotic system, every working man in the country would either have his working hours curtailed, or the purchasing power of his pay augmented, as a consequence—the first effect at least, in nearly every case is actually disastrous to him; his hours being “shortened”, only in the sense of a number of workers being actually deprived of work as a consequence of the invention!

Mr. J. S. Mill indeed goes so far as to question whether “all the improvements in machinery have lightened the day’s toil of a single man”! The Capitalist and the Inventor divide the spoil between them—the former usually contriving to get for himself the Lion’s share! Still (as before the invention of the “Sewing Machine”)

“With fingers weary and worn,
 With eyelids heavy and red,
 Poor women sit in unwomanly rags,
 Plying their needle and thread!
 Work! Work! Work!

Their labour never flags ;—
And what are its wages ? A bed of straw,
A crust of bread, and rags !
A shattered roof—and a naked floor—
A table—a broken chair—
And a wall so blank, their shadows they thank
For sometimes falling there !”

I do not deny that the “Production” of a country as a whole, is immensely increased by the application of machinery. In the first place, machine-made articles are usually cheaper, and probably, in a few cases better also, than hand-made ones ; and so the Consumers of the country (including of course, the working folk) profit indirectly. Ultimately, too, the machinery whose *first* introduction was directly injurious to the artisan class, may lead to their employment in greater numbers than before ; as was the case when Railways took the place of Coaches ; but what is, as a rule, the immediate and most visible effect of such first introduction, may be gathered from the following typical instance. In the evidence given before the “Trades’ Union Commission” by *Mr. Nasmyth*, he stated that, by the introduction into his workshops of labour-saving machines, he was able to dispense with the best paid class of workmen. “All that class of men,” he said, “who depended upon mere dexterity are set aside altogether. By these mechanical contrivances I reduced the number of men in my employ by 1,500 hands, i.e., fully one-half. The result was that *my profits* were much in-

creased!" Quite so, and I wish you joy! But how about the men who got the sack? In other cases, as when Agricultural machinery is brought into the field, it is the Unskilled labourer, rather than the artisan, who suffers,—the whole of the gain accruing in both cases to the party who least needs, and also least deserves, a bonus—the Capitalist!

Now, after this short review of our "Capitalist" system, we are in a position to answer the question with which I started:—Am I right or wrong in attributing part—a considerable part—of the misery existing in this country to that very "lean and hungry creature"—Capitalism?

We have now enquired into the effects, in the way of misery, of (1) the Inequalities introduced by *Nature*, and which men do not attempt to rectify or make allowance for; (2) the Unequal Distribution of *Educational* advantages among us; (3) Unequal Distribution of the benefits supplied to man by Nature in the form of *Land*—the source of all our Raw Materials; (4) the Unequal Distribution (especially as between the Working and the Idle classes) of that fruit of past labour which is called "Capital."

We have now to consider the effect of

V. THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR, AND ITS CORRELATE AND OBVERSE LEISURE.

LET me specially commend to your attention the following most important saying of *Herbert Spencer*, which will indeed serve well as the text of my present section:—"That any citizen may so behave as not to deduct from the aggregate welfare, it is needful that he shall perform such function, or share of function, as is of value equivalent at least to what he consumes . . . All further requirements," he adds, "are unimportant compared with this primary requirement that each shall so live as neither to burden others nor to injure others." In brief: the services rendered by every man to his fellows ought to be equal in amount—though not necessarily alike in kind—to the services rendered by others to him. And to what an immense extent are not we, if we carefully consider the matter, indebted, each of us, to other persons—either dead or living! A thoroughly selfish man, may, it is true, reply to the question, "What has Posterity done for me?" "Nothing! and therefore I owe nothing at all to it!" But such a man is bound, in logic, if he refuses on that account to consider the interest of the Future, to strip himself, on the other side, of all that the Past has done for him. And then will he be poor indeed! So great, in fact (it is demonstrable)—so manifold—so far-reaching—so all-embracing, are the services, little and big, material and mental, that Past generations of Human Beings have rendered to the Present generation,—so incalculable is the debt owing by each separate

Individual to the Human Race as a whole—that one school of thinkers of the present day, embracing too some of the best-informed and most thoughtful and most moral minds in this and other countries—the “Positivists” I mean, have agreed to make the *Human Race as a whole*—in its present, past, and future, aspects—the *object actually of their worship!*—owing (as they conceive and teach,) to that object both life and all that makes life worth possessing; and bound in their turn and on their part, to repay their debt, to the fullest possible extent, in service rendered to the Present and the Future—bound to leave this earth as much better for their lives upon it, as their lives have been made better through the labours, the wisdom, the virtues, the aspirations, of their human predecessors!

But we need surely not be “Positivists” to recognise the duty—incumbent on us,—of *Work!* The Novelist, *W. Black*, says in one of his stories that “The man who considers himself wholly independent of other people—as owing nothing to them that he cannot pay—is a dastardly repudiator of millions of debt. All his life long he has been accepting services from other people; and if he were anything else than a miserable sneak, he would make of these perpetual small obligations, a general fund to be drawn upon whenever occasion offers”! “Life,” as *Mr. Ruskin* tells us, “without industry, is Guilt”; and “we are to do good work,” (he enjoins upon us) “whether we live or die!”

And yet we have only to glance at the world around us—nay, some have but to look at their own hearts—to see—to feel—that one principal aim of modern men is to get as much work as possible out of others, while doing as little as possible in return on their behalf, at the same time monopolising to themselves as large a share as possible of Rest and Leisure and Recompence. Further, while I try to make my children pensioners on yours—supported by their labour, you do your utmost to put yours in a similar position in regard to mine! We, both of us, unwisely fancy that we consult our children's interests by bringing them up to live as idlers and as pensioners on others! Yet surely this is very mean—is very greedy—is very unbrotherly! Morality condemns it, for it is not Just; and Christianity condemns it equally, because it is not kind! As *Goldwin Smith*—anti-Socialist though he be—tells us:—“Christianity is a Religion of Humanity . . . Its Social ideal is Industrial . . . If any will not work, neither shall he eat! . . . Even the Monk, in his better days, consecrated labour by working with his hands, and if” (he says) “aristocratic idleness has intruded into Christendom, it is anti-Christian, as well as anti-Industrial. No Christian who knows the Gospel can possibly believe that it warrants him in living uselessly by the sweat of another man's brow!” “My Father worketh hitherto,” says One greater than Goldwin Smith “and I work”!

And, N.B., it is not merely “to work”—it is not mere “Industry,” however zealous and continuous, which we, each of us, owe to Society; but work of a Useful kind—Service, real Service—of some sort—in return for the really beneficial “Service” that others are ever rendering us! To spend long years in a study—turning either Latin verses, or ivory thimble cases, that no one ever wants, or asks for—is *not* sufficient, does *not* discharge our debt.

Neither, is an *Idler's* “money payment” a real *quid pro quo*, a true economical equivalent, for “personal service,” of either mind or body, rendered to him on the part of any other. If my father's services to Society, owing to his extra industrious and frugal living, were so much greater than those which Society rendered him as to enable him to put by the difference, or balance, in the shape, say, of £1,000, why, he had, in consequence, a moral right to live, in his latter days, if he so chose, in idleness upon the *corpus* of that £1,000! And, if he refrained from so employing it, and continued to render to Society equal, or greater, service for service, to the end of his life, *bequeathing* that £1,000 intact *to me*,—why, I have inherited, with that £1,000, a claim upon the Society he served, for “service” to exactly that amount, £1,000, not more—not less—but exactly £1,000 worth in the shape of either “service,” or “commodities,” (i.e., embodied “services”) due to me from Society, without Justice demanding at my hands any corre-

sponding personal exertion in return for such payment to me! Society, in fact, presented my father with an "I. O. U. for £1,000"—made *payable to bearer*—instead of paying him at the time; and I, receiving this from him, present it, and demand, quite justly, the honouring of it by Society. The £1,000 I proffer represents so much actual past service rendered by my father to Society and never hitherto recouped by it to himself or to any other; and, in offering it, I am therefore, making a fair exchange—of "service for service," both of them, too, of equal value and amount! But now, suppose I *invest* that £1,000, as a sleeping partner in some secure concern that brings me in "Interest" at 5 per cent., i.e., £50 a year, while still reserving to myself the right to the original £1,000 "principal"! What, in that case, am I doing to Society? I am making her pay me, and my heirs or assigns, (if the £1,000 remains invested for but 100 years,) not less than £5,000 worth of services—which, added to the £1,000 "principal" (still mine) makes a total of £6,000 claimed by and and paid to me and my representatives—in the shape of either "service" or "commodity"—in requital of the £1,000 worth of service remaining unpaid to my father at his death!

Now, is this *fair*? Well, I have not time to argue the question now! I think, myself, it is *not* fair; although I quite admit that it is both "legal" and considered "fair"! But it is de-

monstrable, I think, that—whether fair or not—the consequences of this system are, to Society as a whole, of the most disastrous character—enabling—as the system does—large numbers of citizens, in a wealthy community like ours,—and an ever-increasing proportion of them too—to live utterly idle, or even extravagant and vicious lives, to the *proportional increase* (and here's the rub!) of the *burden* laid on that other section of the citizens that has to do the work! For “Interest,” like “Rent,” is always deducted out of the fruit of “Work”; and “Money” must be cashed in “Work” before it can feed, or clothe the holders; and the larger the expenditure of “money” by “Non-workers”—the larger is the quantity of *extra* “work” imposed upon the “Workers” in consequence of this expenditure of money.

If you deny my allegation, and think my position is unsound in argument, I invite you to try your logical weapons upon the argument of a pamphlet issued by the “Clifton and Bristol Christian Socialists,” and entitled “Society Classified”—in which we endeavour to show in detail that if, and, in proportion as, any member of society is not living by his work, he *must be*, in the nature and truth of things, either a “beggar,” or a “thief;” and that “money-payments” proffered by an *idle* rich man are *not* a true economical equivalent, and therefore *not* a fair and just requital, of “personal service” rendered by a worker.

But now comes the question, What do I

mean by "Personal Service"—such as (I maintain) we each of us owe to the community to which we all alike belong? Well! We have the two sorts, first, of "Bodily" and "Mental" Labour. Each has its purpose and its value. Whoever renders any *real service* to society, whether or no he be a producer of "material wealth," is virtually a "working" man, or woman, and one who earns both salt and porridge!

There are especially three divisions of Useful Work, viz:—

- (1) Directly *Productive* work;
- (2) *Distributive* work;
- (3) Work of a *Preparatory* or *Stimulating* or *Helpful* kind—including most of the Teachers', and the Preachers', and the Authors', and the Women's, work.

"They also serve," (says the great Puritan Poet)—

"They also serve, who only stand and wait!"

Yes! the highest and the most fruitful feelings, as also the grandest and most illuminating thought-flashes, have often come to men and women unfettered by engrossing and exhausting toil, in hours of meditation and of leisure; who—amid the battle and the turmoil of the world around them—"communed with their own hearts," or with Nature, "and were still!" "Solitude," as *Gibbon* remarks, "is the school of Genius!" Again: as *Victor Hugo* says: "There is in the world no function more im-

portant than that of being charming
To shed joy abroad, to radiate happiness, to cast light upon dark days, to be the golden thread of our destiny, and the very spirit of grace and harmony—is not this to render a service?" And again: "The Beautiful is more Useful than the Useful!" For "the Author," again—if his writings are to be of the highest and most useful sort—*Emerson* claims that "like the Priest, he be exempted from secular labour; for (he argues) "his work needs a frolic health; he must be at the top of his condition."

So much for work of the third or *Stimulating* class.

Again, the second sort, the work of *Distributing* (as distinguished from that of *Producing*) wealth, the work of the "Merchant," and of the "Wholesale," and the "Retail Dealer"—that is often highly useful. True, it is so ill organised, as a rule, in this country, that very much of it is useless or even worse! True again, that too large a proportion of the total produce of Labour is intercepted by the wealth-Distributor to the impoverishment of the usually much more meritorious and much harder-worked wealth-Producer! Yet, with such a splendid example before us of the services that can be rendered to Society by purely "Distributive" Labour, as our admirably-organised, but not adequately-paid, "Postal Service" supplies to us, it would be foolish to despise Distributors, as such, or to think that we could get on well without them

altogether! If you want to see what inconveniences attach to great deficiency, in any country, of the means of "Distribution", read *Professor F. W. Newman's* ludicrous account (he was a traveller and resident in the East himself) of a country whence "Middlemen" are almost absent:—

"If in a Syrian town," he says (but I abridge a little) "I want to furnish a sofa for my drawing-room, I have to go through the following process:—I must go to one of the gates of the town, await the entrance of countrymen with sheep; and find out which of them has wool unsold. A bargain is made, and several days later some wool is deposited at my house. I then hire some men (if the wool seems good enough) to wash the wool. I must then go to some European shop to purchase needles and thread or silk; and then engage some men to do the upholstery work in my house. At the end—whatever I may have saved in money, the expenditure of time has been, to a European mind, intolerable!"

Well now! seeing that we cannot live, much less make progress as a race, except on the condition of a certain quantity of Labour—much of it very painful—being done by someone, the question follows:—How does Society apportion this aggregate of needful labour among its members? Does it, with us Englishmen, act upon the Just principle: "From each according to his capacity"? Does it, i.e., give *every* capable person *some* share of the needful

work—assigning a larger share, or a harder sort of labour, to the clever and the strong; and lighter tasks, or less of them, to the weaker, slower, and less capable? It was remarked in Henry the Eighth's time, by *Sir Thomas More*, that “if all that languish out their life in sloth and idleness (every one of whom consumes” he says “as much as any two of the men that work!) were forced to labour, a small proportion of time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant, to mankind, especially when pleasure is kept within its due bounds”; and (nearer the present time, in 1873) *Mr. W. Hoyle*, himself a manufacturer and owner of machinery (on a very large scale, I believe) expressed his conviction, as the result of careful calculation, that the total amount of labour required to provide for our *bodily* needs—if all of us took our fair share of the work, and if our industry were properly organised, and full application were made of all known Inventions and Discoveries,—would be as follows:—*Food*: half an hour's daily labour; *Clothing*: fifteen minutes; *Houses, &c.*: half an hour's daily labour. Total: $1\frac{1}{4}$ hour. But call it *three hours*, (for we must allow for *Education* also;) and what a prospect is here opened out of Leisure—for the production of Luxuries, according to the taste of each; for the cultivation of the Mind; for the study of Nature or of Art; for the enjoyment of Social Pleasures; and for the discharge of other than Industrial Social Duties!

A community which determined to base its arrangements on the principle of Justice would so organise the Industry of its individual members that, while all, who, (from youth or old age or other infirmity,) were prevented from doing their proper share of the Common Work, were supported gratuitously by the labour of the rest, the capable ones should divide the *Necessary* part of the National work—that is the work of Feeding, Clothing, Housing, Educating, Defending, and Organising—amongst them, the lighter tasks being assigned to the slower and the weaker, the heavier ones to the clever and the strong—each individual—so far as the public requirements permitted—being at the same time set to the particular sort of work for which, if any, Educational tests had proved him to be best suited. It would be an object, again, in the interests of Individual development, so to distribute the Public work that both Body and Mind might be called into play in every instance, instead of the population degenerating, as seems quite possible, into one class all mere *brain-workers*, (“like tadpoles—all head and no body,” as *G. Eliot* describes them,) and the other class all *muscle-workers*! “To be born with more mind than body” is (if we may believe the author of *Lorna Doone*) “the worst thing that can befall a man!”

Further:—If there were any sort of work which Experience proved to be difficult and odious alike to workers of every stamp,

common fairness would suggest that, either all should take their turn at work of such a kind, or that a certain number, (selected, say, by lot, or some other impartial method) should among them take it as their work, or, that the workers who took it should have shorter "Compulsory-work" hours than their comrades in general had.

Further:—Supposing the work of the community to be, as I have suggested, divided into two sorts and portions, viz: (1) that *Necessary and Public work* of which I have been speaking hitherto, and (2) *Accessory, Voluntary, and Private work*—in respect of which each individual might properly determine for himself alike its quantity and quality; and supposing, also, that Each Day is divided into two corresponding periods, viz:—(a) a period of three hours—to be spent in the service of the State, and under the State's directions, and on the State's materials—by *all* the *workers* alike—which we will call the "Public Hours"; and (b) the remaining twenty-one or "Private" hours—which each individual would be at liberty to employ exactly as he chose,—we have then present all the conditions that would seem requisite for the knitting of all the separate members of a community into a compact, powerful, and patriotic National Unit—all the Members, alike and equally, deriving benefit from the *Common Land*, and also from the *Common Capital*,—all thoroughly well-trained, not only each for his specific life-work, but each also

and especially to regard himself as a single limb of One Common body—all sharing, and sharing fairly, in such work as is for the good of all, and all too having at command for their several personal purposes, equal amounts of Leisure, for the prosecution of their private aims:

“Just so much work as keeps the brain from rust;

Just so much play as lets the heart expand;”

as *Mr. Browning* puts it. “Liberty—Equality—Fraternity”—would then be something more than a motto and a dream; it would be a thread of solid gold running through the warp and woof of the actual social web! Has not Experience as well as Fable, taught us that in “Unity is Strength”? And is there any bond so strong for knitting men together, as their *co-operating*, in a spirit of harmony, *for a common purpose*—as all would be doing then? Is there on the other hand any solvent so disintegrating and relaxing—so likely to reduce Society into its original elements—as that every man should seek his own, and only his own, interests—as we all avowedly and normally do at present? With a picture such as I have drawn before us, one can understand how the modern Germans, and the Romans of old, came to call their country “father”-land! for—

“Then none was for a party;

Then all were for the State;

Then the Great man helped the Poor,

And the poor man loved the great;

Then Lands were fairly portioned;
Then spoils were fairly sold;
The Romans were *like brothers*
In the brave days of old!"

But, how are matters altered now! It is almost inconceivable to me—I say it with regret—how any intelligent and well-informed member of the so-called “working” class can be a patriot at all; and it is so simply because I cannot see any reason why he should be one! “Land,” “Capital,” and “Education,”—are, to a great extent, the foes of working men, and not their friends—employed against them—to oppress them! And, in the division of “Leisure” and “Labour,” while nearly all the “Labour” is portioned out to them, the “Leisure,” per contra—which they most need, and which they alone have really earned—is, most of it, allotted to Non-workers! Truly, to them their country is a “Stepmother”—rather than a “Father”-land! Can we expect them to feel a child’s affection—much more to shed blood—for the institutions that so treat them?

We have political liberty indeed—enough and to spare—amongst us! but of how little value is it to that great majority among us, who, *economically* the while are *slaves*! As *Prince Kropotkin* says: “We cry against the feudal baron who did not permit anyone to settle on his land otherwise than on payment of one fourth of the crop to the lord of the Manor; but we continue to do as they did—we *extend* their system! The forms have

changed, but the essence has remained the same."

"Equalisation of Leisure"—bringing with it, as it would, to working men, extension of their leisure—would probably prove most beneficial, for one thing, in the way of developing individual genius to a much greater extent than now is possible. Again, there would be time for each man to vary largely his occupations; and "all-round" men—great rarities at present, yet precious possessions to society—would then be common.

Nothing, again, is worse for a man's moral character than to have no duties. Wisely the *Preacher* urges us to "Hate not laborious work"! A man is much more educated in fact by what he does than by what he merely hears or reads! As *Carlyle* says, "Properly thou hast no other knowledge but what thou hast got by work; the rest is all yet an hypothesis of knowledge"! And, under a truly "Social" régime, it would be alike impossible for any capable man to live without the daily stimulus of Duty, as it would for any to be *over-worked*—against his will!

Yet see to-day how many an under-worked Lady wears out good shoeleather in "constitutionals," and Gentlemen spend days in active sports, in order that they may be able to digest their over-numerous luxurious meals! (See *Lady John Manners'* recent Article on the subject.) While others eat that they may live, these live to eat! Watch again the

“Upper Ten”—carefully got-up in their gorgeous array with the help of ladies’ maids and valets—how they toil through the night in eager search of Pleasure—killing the time by small talk and by “games—the great delight of little minds”! Whole suburbs there are like “Belgravia” and “Westbournia,”—whole cities again, like “Brighton” and “Cheltenham”—filled with loungers—on whose hands life hangs as heavily as lead for want of occupation; while other large districts there are, such as Spitalfields and Bethnal Green, besides whole towns in the North of England, or the “Black country,” nearly every inhabitant of which is *overworked*, and where laundresses and seamstresses by thousands do their twelve or fifteen hours a day of labour for 11½d!

“ And oh! those maidens young,
 Who wrought in that dreary room,
 With fingers drooping, and spectres thin,
 And cheeks without a bloom,—
 And the Voice that cried: ‘ For the pomp of
 pride
 We haste to an early tomb!
 For the pomp and pleasure of Pride,
 We toil like Afric slaves;
 And only to earn a home at last
 Where yonder cypress waves!’

.

I drank the richest draughts,
 And ate whatever is good:—
 Fish and flesh, and fowl, and fruit,
 Supplied *my* hungry mood;

But I never remembered the wretched ones
That starve for want of food !

I dressed as the noble dress,
In cloth of silver and gold,
With silk, and satin, and costly furs,
In many an ample fold ;
But I never remembered the naked limbs
That froze with winter's cold !

The wounds I might have healed !
The human sorrow and smart !
And yet it never was in my soul
To play so ill a part !
But evil is wrought by want of Thought,
As well as want of Heart !"

And then—as the author of *Maud Muller* reminds us—

“ Of all sad words of tongue or pen
The saddest are these—*It might have been !*”

But in connection with Labour, there is another charge I have to bring against my country, besides the fault I have been finding with the most Unequal and Inequitable Distribution of Labour, and of its correlate and obverse Leisure,—I object, in the interests of the country as a whole, and of the working class in particular, to THE ENORMOUS MISDIRECTION OF LABOUR.

VI. THE ENORMOUS MISDIRECTION OF LABOUR.

NOT only have we too large a share of Labour packed upon the workers' shoulders, but more than one-third of the whole of that compulsory labour is compulsorily devoted to the production of articles, or to the fulfilment of functions, from which the doers of the work themselves derive no benefit at all—direct, or indirect—except their wages. It is not enough that the workers have to provide the whole of the “Necessaries” of life required and consumed by themselves and by the idle class, but they are further forced, under the present system, to produce and provide all the extra comforts and the superfluous and often mischievous *Luxuries* that the appropriation of “Rent” and “Interest” by idle men and women enables them to exact. Not merely the power to compel *work*, but to determine the *sort* of work, and to determine even that the work shall be of an injurious sort—resides with the wealthy and non-working class. Add to this the workers' frequent inability to get any work at all, and the fact that great complaints are made, e.g., if the proceeds of the work of prisoners is brought into the market, or if soldiers are permitted to share the agricultural labourers' toils; and we see fresh reason to object to our present Industrial System. To quote once more *Prince Kropotkin*:—“When millions of days of labour are spent every year

for the satisfaction of the stupid vanity of the rich, the Economist sees more than a shameful squandering of money; he says that so many millions of workers have been diverted from the manufacture of those useful instruments which would permit us to decuple or centuple our present production of means of subsistence and of requisites for comfort." *Mr. Alexander Wylie* (in an article contributed to "*Fraser's Magazine*" in 1872, which has since been republished in a volume entitled "*Labour, Leisure, and Luxury*,") gives figures to prove that fifteen years ago (and matters have not improved since then that I know of) not less than £400,000,000 were annually spent in this country on the merest superfluities, many of them mischievous!—370, out of these 400, millions sterling being spent by that Upper class that constitutes one-fifteenth, or 7 per cent., of the Population:—in other words, 92 per cent. of the total of luxuries consumed in this country is consumed by 7 per cent. of the total population—the production of this total of Luxuries, requiring and absorbing as much as 36 per cent. of the entire work done in the country! As *Mr. Wylie* remarks by way of comment upon this:—"The same workshop often turns out together "*Luxury*" and "*Necessary*," and the same means of distribution serve for both. The same agricultural labourer often tills the ground to produce the prime "*Necessary*" of food and the dangerous "*Luxury*" of Alcohol. A mason, building an

artisan's cottage, is certainly engaged in producing an important "Necessary;" but the same man, doing his small share to the erection of the Millionaire's palatial residence, is aiding to construct one of the costliest "Luxuries"! The stately ship contains the gorgeous saloon, and the miserable fore-castle, and no mere human calculation can rank exactly in their respective classes the thousands who labour in our shipbuilding yards or man the vessels that are launched from them." Surely, this nation is not the better for having 850,000 persons to conduct its Liquor Traffic; Gamekeepers to watch over the two (I give throughout the figures for 1870;) million acres devoted, in Scotland alone, to the support of deer! Coachmen for so many as 315,989 carriages; and Grooms for 337,462 Pleasure horses, as well as 2,532 Race horses! The 230,000 Lace and Hosiery, and the 120,000 Silk, manufacturers might, some of them, surely be more profitably employed! And 22,000 engaged on Gold and Silver articles, and 4,800 on Leather Cases, might with advantage yield a surplus! Possibly too, we could do at least as well if the many who are now engaged in Teaching by tongue, or pen, or pencil, what is false or mischievous in Religion, Morals, Politics, Literature, and Art,—should cease from their present labours and devote their worse than wasted energies to worthier objects! To quote for the last time *Prince Kropotkin* :—"When a rich man spends £1,000 on his stables, he squanders 5 to 6

thousand days of human labour, which might be used (under a better social organisation) for supplying with comfortable homes those who are compelled now to live in dens! And when a lady spends £100 for her dress, we cannot but say that she squanders at least two years of human labour, which again (under a better organisation) might have supplied 100 women with decent dresses, and much more if applied to a further improvement of the instruments of production"! "Luxury is indeed possible in the future" (as *Mr. Ruskin* remarks)—"innocent and exquisite luxury for all, and by the help of all"! But it seems very hard on any man that he should be bound, on pain of actual starvation, to devote the chief energies of his life to objects of, to say the best, but doubtful value. In the production of Necessaries, it is not immoral to compel each citizen to take his share, in the Public part of the Day; but the Private part ought surely to be left to each man's private judgment and conscience to settle how he will employ it!

Lavishers on luxury however often defend their expenditure by saying that, but for their extravagance, a number of operatives would be thrown altogether out of work! And true that is! And shameful that it can be true! Shameful, that our Industrial System should be so constructed and adjusted, that the Evil act of one should bring Good fortune to another! It is however only in the same sense as a "bull in a china shop" (who smashes the

contents and so brings work to the potter) is a *public benefactor*, that the *consumer of luxuries* is so! In truth, every article of luxury that is needlessly produced and consumed makes the real wealth of the community by so much the less, and the aggregate of labour done by so much the greater; and further, either so much less is left to be paid in wages to the man who produces Necessaries, or the price of the Necessaries is raised so much in consequence—because so much less of them is sent into the market. Yet, it is stated (See *R. Jennings'* “Social Delusions”) that, so late as 1837, (on the occasion of a Charity Ball being given in the Opera House for the benefit of the Spitalfields silk-weavers, and the walls of the House being hung with silk) the crowning grace was given to the Charity—a crowning proof afforded also of the absurdity of our Social system—by the fact that the Silk, with which the Ballroom walls were hung, was purposely destroyed, after the ball was over—“for the good of trade”!

“One painful feature about the “misdirected labour” of which I speak is the fact that the average rate of wages paid to men engaged in “Luxury”-production is (or was in 1870) about £10 a year more than the average amount earnable by the men engaged in producing only the “Comforts” and the “Necessaries” of life! And yet, as *Mr. Ruskin* says, in his “*Fors Clavigera*” (a series of “Letters addressed to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain”):—“The one first and absolute ques-

tion of all economy is—*what* are you making? Are you making Hell's articles, or Heaven's?—Gunpowder, or Corn?" But, in truth, working men themselves are almost powerless in the matter. They must make what shopkeepers can *sell*; and shopkeepers can sell only what men and women, with the "almighty dollar" in their pockets, choose to buy; and unfortunately, when a wealthy man or woman has supplied every natural and reasonable want of every member of his family, he rarely thinks of those who have no Comforts and not enough of Necessaries; but he invents or enquires after ever new Luxuries!

To a certain extent however, Manufacturers and Shopkeepers can guide the purchaser and influence taste. By selling for a time below cost price some one article, and advertising another to an unlimited and most objectionable extent—they can "force" things upon reluctant markets. Especially by pricing a piece of goods at a figure like 19s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.—are they able to exercise an extra-ordinary and basilisk-like influence on would-be economically-minded buyers of the female sex! Not "penny"-wise however but only "farthing"-wise (and more than one "pound" foolish) are these poor victims often! And then the law of Fashion puts forth its noxious power; and because the leading lady of the place wears this and the other novelty, a score of others must follow suit—one person's extravagance succeeding to and vying with another's! "It is," however

as *V. Hugo* says, “out of the Hell of the Poor that the Paradise of the Rich is made”! The money the Rich men spend is not in truth a blessing. As *Goldsmith* vainly told us, a century and more ago :—

“ This good is but a name
That leaves our useful product still the same !
Not so the loss ! The man of wealth and pride
Takes up a space that many poor supplied ;
Space for his lake, his park’s extended bounds,
Space for his horses, equipage, and hounds !
The robe that wraps his limbs in silken cloth
Has robbed the neighbouring fields of half
their growth ;
His seat, where solitary sports are seen,
Indignant spurns the cottage from the green ;
Around the world each *needful* product flies,
For all the *luxuries* the world supplies ;
While thus the Land, adorned for pleasure all,
In barren splendour feebly waits its fall !”

So much for the mischief done by “ Misdirecting” a large proportion of our National Labour!

VII.

BEFORE I enquire, seventhly, into the mischief and misery wrought by the present *Unequal and Iniquitous assignment of the “ Reward of Labour,”* (whether well- or ill-directed,) let me sketch a *Utopia* founded on the seven suppositions following :—

(1) Suppose the whole of the *Land*, and also an adequate supply of *Capital*, to have

been acquired by the Nation (whether by Purchase, or by Gift, or by Act of Parliament—but, in any case, by some *just* means—for to Justice we, as *Christian Socialists*, are pledged) and

(2) Suppose it to have been ascertained that 3 hours a day devoted by all the capable members of the Community is enough to provide for all the bare “*Necessaries*” of Life in the way of Food, Clothes, House, Furniture, Work shops, Tools, and Education (for that is, I maintain, a prime “*Necessary*” of *Social Life*!); and

(3) Suppose *every Capable Citizen* to be obliged to do his 3 hours’ work per diem in the Public service—work, I mean, of this *Necessary* kind; and

(4) Suppose each such worker to receive in exchange for his 3 hours’ daily public work, 3 *hour-notes* by way of wages—all “*hour-notes*” being of equal value, and being “*legal tender*” (and the only legal tender—for internal purposes—in the country) exchangeable at the Public Stores; and

(5) Suppose that in these *Public Stores* (and nowhere else) all “*Raw Materials*,” and all the *proceeds* of the *Public work*, done in the public hours, and belonging to the Public, be deposited—as well as such *proceeds* of *Private work* as are for sale; and

(6) Suppose that in every village-(or city-) centre there be such a “*Public Store*,” or “*Stores*,” to which each citizen can resort;

and that these stores be open to him for any of the following purposes :—

(a) For entering his name on any of the *Registers of different Occupations* as a Candidate for employment in his Private hours ; (b) For *hiring* the *services* of other citizens, whose names are on such Occupation-Register, in their Private hours ; (c) For the *purchase of Raw Materials*, and the hire of tools, machines, and beasts of burden for use in his Private hours ; (d) For the *sale* of both the produce of his Private labour, and any commodity that he wishes to part with ; as well as of such effete products as are now available only for conversion into Raw Material and subsequent remanufacture ; (e) For the *purchase* of the *produce* of both Public Labour (his own and others') and Private Labour—of others, in the shape of commodities sent to the Store by them for sale.

Such a "Store", in fact, it is obvious, would discharge the functions equally of a general "Labour and Exchange Mart," and of a "Universal Provider" like Mr. Whitley.

(7) Suppose that in the assignment of the public tasks, i.e. the tasks to be done by all in their "public" hours, the principle has been faithfully followed of "*From each according to his capacity*";

Supposing, I say, these seven conditions

to be fulfilled—it remains to determine what further conditions are required to satisfy the Second half of the Social Axiom, viz : “*To each according to his Merit*” ! Now, “*Merit*,” as I have urged before, is not to be measured by either natural gifts of mind or body, or the “market value” of the product of the labour, as is the case at present. Those are competitive and bestial standards, neither human, nor humane, nor just. “*Merit*,” and “*effort*,” as I have said before, are *moral* qualities and can only be gauged by a moral standard—to wit, the extent to which each worker has, in relation to the work assigned him, done, or not done, *his best* ! Comparison with either others, or an absolute standard, are both out of the question ; if at least our aim is to be *just* to every individual man !

How then can we test and measure “*effort*,” “*will*,” and the doing of one’s “*honest best*” ? It is not possible, of course, to do so accurately and with certainty—man cannot read the heart ! But, where, as under a Socialistic system, each citizen is working for the public profit, himself being a portion of that “*public* ;” and where—as I have proposed—the *first*—absolutely the first and main endeavour in Education, is in every instance to get rid of selfishness and to infuse a truly “*public*” spirit ;—and where, as would also be the case, it would be the interest of each citizen to see that his neighbours, not less than himself, were faithful to their duties ; and where too, (if it were

needful, and so long as it were needful) Inspectors were appointed for the purpose of applying the spur to laggards;—under these conditions, it appears to me, that payment for work *by time* would be a fair—the only fair—arrangement.

And so 3 hour-notes payment for the daily 3 hours' "public" work would be the Just Rewarding of each according to his Merit. So great is the power of "Public Opinion," (some people find in this the sole sanction of Morality!) that there can be little doubt, I think, that before long, if not at first, the great majority of citizens would be too much "ashamed"—too much "afraid" of the public censure—to dare to be poltroons and to shirk work! I am supposing too a community of adults in whose early training the *Moral* element was the main one, and in whose moral training the leading aim has been to inspire a genuine love of "Justice," and an admiration for the action and effects of "Reciprocity." Supposing, however, some lazy ones—idle, "and not ashamed"—were palpable work-shirkers—these might be at the same time punished and reformed, by being compelled, as adults, to go back to school, and sitting on the same bench with the youngsters, to learn over again their relation, and their duty, to their neighbours!

The Community finding all the Raw Materials, the Tools, the Workshops and the Capital—as well as the preliminary Training—for the Public work—the whole produce of the

3 hours' Public Labour in Justice belongs to it! The worker, having contributed only so much time, and so much labour—of "his best"—receives his equal *quid pro quo* in "hour-notes." The goods produced are stored up in National Dépôts, as I have already mentioned, and to them each individual (with hour-notes in his pocket) goes, if he wants to purchase either manufactured goods, or raw materials,—or to hire the services of man, or beast, or machinery, for *private* purposes. And then comes the question: How will the Government, (our National "Mr. Whitely" or "Universal Provider") *price the articles* (Raw or Manufactured) that it sells, and the *services* (of man, machine, or beast) that it lets out?

If it prices these, *as it paid for them*,—according to the *time* a certain sofa (say) took the individual artisan to make, or the number of *hours* that the individual gardener (say) takes to tidy up a certain garden—there is this inconvenient result, that the gardener next upon the Register for Private work (and in justice we must follow "Hobson's" system *in re* the order of employment!) and therefore sent to *me* at my request will possibly (being a man of lymphatic temperament) spend 4 days upon *my* garden; and, again, *I* may have to pay 4 guineas' worth of "Hour-notes" for a sofa made by a certain slow and "prentice hand,"—while *Mr. Robinson*, my next door neighbour, buys a sofa that took a clever man only *half* as much time to make, and also gets his garden

tidied up in only *half* the time mine took,—with this unpleasant net result, that *I* have to pay—for service and commodity of the same intrinsic value as his—nearly twice the price he pays! No! that won't do at all! It is clear that, to make things *fair* to the Consumers (i.e. the Purchasers) all round, Government must charge for every article (so far as its price depends upon the amount of “Labour” put into it,) and for every Service also, *by the piece*, basing its charge “per piece” (so far as the charge depends upon the factor *Labour*) upon *the average amount of time* that any “article” takes to make, or any “service” to perform. Government then must *pay* all its servants *by time*, that so both each worker may receive according to his “merit,” and there may not be any opportunity for “Competing” between quick and stupid, strong and feeble, workmen; while, *per contra*—when it sells a piece of goods, or contracts to do a piece of work, it must *charge* for these *by the piece*, so as to prevent the risk alike of persons paying *different* prices for things of really *equal* value, and paying *equal* prices for things of *different* intrinsic values! But, N.B., into the value of every “commodity”, (I am now speaking of “manufactured articles” only, and not of “services”) a second factor enters (besides the amount of time and trouble expended in the making)—viz.: the value of *the Raw material*. Under the existing system, the value alike of “Raw Materials” and of “Human Services” is deter-

mined by the "higgling of the market," (the very sound of the word is mean!) or the Law of "Supply and Demand," or "Competition." And this, as we have already seen in part, and shall yet see much more abundantly, leads—when applied to Human Labour, and permitted to react on *Human Happiness*—to the greatest possible Injustices and Miseries! On the other hand, there can, obviously, be no fairer means to be employed by a Community in determining that factor in the price of each commodity which depends on the value of its "raw material" (all raw materials originally belonging to the Nation as a whole)—in determining, in fact, the *value* of "raw materials" in general—than the principle of "Supply and Demand," or "Market value." Government therefore, in pricing (e.g.) two goblets of similar size and shape and workmanship—which differ only in the *material* employed—the one being made, say, of *gold* and the other out of *silver*—will ascertain the *comparative value of the two metals*, (assigning the difference in the price of the cups accordingly,)—either by observation of the prices these metals severally bear in foreign markets, or by careful calculation of the relation of the Supply of them to the Demand among its own citizens.

A charge of inconsistency will be urged against me doubtless here on the ground that I, an avowed enemy of all Competition, am letting in the thin end of the wedge of it, in allowing it to determine the comparative value

of "Raw Materials."

Yes! but then Gold, and Silver, and Iron, Lead—competing against each other—however keenly—don't tread on one another's toes, nor hurt one another's feelings; and that, for the very good reason, that they have got no "feelings"!—a fact that makes all the difference! My sole objection to the action of "Competition" in the Social field is its effects on *Human Hearts*! To exclaim against my permitting its presence in other fields is to be hyperlogical. "It is," as *G. Eliot* observes, "not the logic of human action, but of a Roasting Jack, that *must* go on to the last turn when once it has been wound up!"

The "hour-notes" I speak of would be, as I remarked, the only authorised currency and legal tender (the only *money*, in one word) in the whole country, except for purposes of *exchange with Foreigners*, in which case Government would be the only agent on the British side, and would have to make the necessary arrangements with each foreign country. Of course in any case in which the "Imports" exceeded in money value the "exports," Gold or Silver must be paid across; and to be paid must be procured—either in exchange for goods, or by gold or silver digging to order of the Government. *Internally*, each individual citizen would be at liberty (within such bounds as wisdom might suggest) to add to the Income accruing from his "Public" labour (done in the three "Public" hours) by under-

taking work at his own choice, for self or others, in any portion of his *Private* hours. But even for that his *paymaster* would be the Government! And Government, on the other hand, would *procure* his *Private* work for him—putting his name, as I suggested, on the “Occupation Register” of the district. The reason why it would be necessary for Government to intervene as Contractor and Paymaster between the Employer and Employed in “*Private*” work, is as a preventive of Competition’s baneful influence in dealing with the Price-and-Wages tariff. For—once allow the Quick and Clever workers to put their services up to auction in competition with the Slow and Feeble, and there would clearly be laid the foundations of difference between men’s fortunes due to some other cause than Merit! While, in the *Public* hours men’s *opportunities* would be *equal*, they would become *unequal* in the *Private*, and larger, portion of the day. We should, like Penelope, be undoing our own handiwork! Thus it appears that, while a certain *minimum* amount of *Public work* (the three hours named before) would be *imposed* on every single capable citizen alike, and—corresponding to it—a certain *minimum* amount of income—enough to provide the bare “Necessaries” and “Primary Comforts” of life—including “Education”—would be also *secured*—to each, it would be at the option of each individual adult to work (in the service of private persons, but at the

Government wage-tariff) any number of *additional* hours he pleased, and at work of whatever sort he pleased, and was able to procure, receiving pay therefore according to the time expended. And correspondingly, it would be in the power of each individual also, through Government agency, to get any sort of work he desired performed for him by private individuals working in their private hours, under the control, and as servants, of the Government, which would pay such workers by the "time" they spent, and be repaid for the work done (by the persons who desired it done) according to the "piece" (or "average time") principle of payment.

Thus would *Pauperism* be absolutely abolished; (For either Insurance against Old Age might be made compulsory, as *Mr. Blackley* suggests; or a universal system of Pensions might be established;) and equally *Excessive Riches*; for, though one class of men would very likely prefer to cultivate their *minds* through much of their private hours, or to spend their leisure time in active pleasure or the "dolce far niente," and consequently would (unless it were through Inheritance) have to content themselves through life with their "high" (or "low") "thinking, and plain living,"—another class would prefer accumulating wealth—some for their personal gratification only; and others again, in order to give life and support to a large family, or to gratify a taste for Giving or Bequeathing.

Yet,—as every Hour-note issued would represent so much “personal labour” of some one in the past, and (owing to the total abolition of “Rent” and “Interest”) Hour-notes would not then possess the power that men have given “Money”—of *begetting families*—“Industry” and “Merit” (and, in the case of the Incompetent, “Necessitousness”) being the only way to bring them into being—no man would be able to accumulate more than at the rate of one Hour-note for each single hour he personally worked—however quick he was, and strong, and clever! And to the community it obviously makes no difference at all whether such accumulated “Hour-notes” (“I. O. U.”s they would be, given in acknowledgment of actual service rendered) are presented at the Public Stores by the man who originally earned them, or some other. The widow and the children of the earner (or any other assignees) have just as good a moral claim on Society for the wealth each Hour-note represents as ever the Earner had himself—if he of his own free will transferred the note to them, and they have never hitherto been honoured.

Houses and Furniture might be either owned by individuals, or remain national property and be leased to individuals by Government—according as proved most convenient; and worn out materials, after serving individual purchasers, could be sold to Government, as already suggested, for what they were worth, and by it be utilised if possible. The Cost of

Government might be met, either by a Just Income Tax, or by a profit on the sale of the produce of the Public Labour—the selling price of that being fixed at a certain number of Hour-notes *per annum* in excess of the number issued annually to the workers, and Hour-notes corresponding to this excess being issued by the Government for its own use in meeting its own annual expenses,—whichever might seem the more economical or the fairer. Letting of Land altogether,—and subletting of Houses, except for temporary convenience—would be prohibited, as likely to cause the renewal of old injustices and grievances.

Many people hearing or reading such a description as the above will at once object that Centralisation is always bad, and the work done by Government means work done badly and expensively. Both these objections miss the mark. In the first place Centralisation is so far from being a bad thing that it is the very distinguishing mark of a superior Organism, such as the Human Body. That is the very type, if normally constituted and healthy, of thorough-going centralisation—every single function and organ in the system being completely correlated and controlled by the Nerve Centre, the Brain and Spinal Cord. Again as *Mr. Lawrence Gronlund* points out in his “Co-operative Commonwealth”, the capacity of Government for economical and efficient administration is conclusively proved by such notorious facts as these following:—“that the

Government carries a letter promptly and safely to any part of the United Kingdom for a penny; that the English Telegraph service sends a dispatch to any part of the same for sixpence; and that the Belgian Railway Management (Governmental) only charges eightpence for every thirty miles"! But the truth is that the word "Government," as the same writer remarks, under a Socialist régime, connotes something quite different to what our experience leads us to associate with it. Government, in the "good time coming," will no longer mean Government by a class and for a class, but it will mean and be the exercise of Self-control and Self-management by the People at large.

I have spoken above of the whole nation as a Socialistic Unit. But it should be understood that this is not an essential part of any Social ideal. A Socialist community, to give it a fair chance of succeeding, ought to be large enough to comprise all the elements required for Industrial Independence.

Fourier, I believe, fixed upon 2,000 persons, or thereabouts, as a sufficient and convenient number to constitute a Social Unit.

But whatever decision may ultimately be arrived at on this point, one proviso should in any case be made, namely, that all the different Industrial Units into which a single nation, like our own, might be divided, should co-operate, and not compete, with one another—our *Ideal* as Socialists regarding the whole

nation—nay, the whole human race some day—as making practically, if not formally,—one great Co-operative Association, in which the Production of wealth is carried on for the General profit, and its Distribution is effected on principles of True Equity!

Under a system like the one described above, we (as you may have noticed) contrive to *either muzzle, or altogether kill* each one of my “seven lean kine”! For, N.B.,

(1) By assigning men tasks appropriate to their several idiosyncrasies, and of difficulty proportioned to their strength and skill,—and, further, by paying all by time, instead of by the piece,—we have rectified the inequalities in *Natural Personal Endowment*; and have prevented No. I. of our “lean kine” from calving.

(2) By bringing up all the children in the community equally to be “gentlemen in heart and manner,” and “public-spirited citizens”,—also fitting each, according to his kind for “complete living”,—we have succeeded in sending No. II. of our “lean kine,” viz. :—*Educational Inequality*, into a Bovine Nunnery.

(3 and 4) By Nationalising the Land, and also acquiring a National Capital—afterwards providing out of these for the industrial needs of all our Workers; and by abolishing “Rent” also and “Interest”,—we have got rid of Nos. III. and IV. of our “lean kine”, viz. :—all the evils that arise from *Inequality of Benefit from either Land or Capital*;

(5) By compelling every capable citizen to

take an Equal share in Necessary Labour, we have alike abolished Pauperism, and such Evils as arise out of *Unfair Distribution of Labour*. At the same time, by Equalising Leisure, and also permitting every citizen to employ his equal share of Leisure as he likes, (selling to him also raw materials and securing to him a just tariff of pay for such work as he does for pay in his private hours,) we have given a stimulus to "Private Industry"—sufficient but not excessive—and have muzzled our Vth "lean cow"!

(6) "*Misdirected Labour*," under the new system, has become (I speak proleptically) a matter of the past—so far at least as its *compulsory* performance is involved—owing to "Necessary" Labour being now devoted exclusively to work of a "Necessary" kind. The production of "Luxuries" can now only be effected in "private" hours,—and on "private" responsibility,—and no single person is obliged to give his life, or any portion of his time, to this species of work.

(7) All doing Compulsory work for Equal times, and Private work according to individual discretion, and both sorts of work being paid for according to "time," and not by the "piece,"—it follows that each worker receives, if he does his best, a *reward* in direct *proportion to his merit*—"merit," a moral quality, being measured not by the "market value" of the work produced (which does not depend on moral conditions at all) but—by the amount

of will and effort introduced by individual agents. Further :—in consequence of the total abolition of the “Interest” system—the power to found whole families of Idlers has perished ! And thus is the VIIth and last of our “lean kine” abolished, and the principle established and set going, of :

“From each according to his Capacity” and
“To each according to his Merit” !

Under such a system,—while all the Incompetent would be pensioners of the State, the Capable citizens would all alike “enjoy exactly equal opportunities,” so far as Man can secure them, one person as another. And only through *personal* default or desert could any one man fare worse, or better, than his neighbour. If A. chooses to marry early and B. late, and, while A. brings into the world twelve children, B. is content with two ;—if A. again prefers to spend the whole of his twenty-one hours’ daily Leisure in smoking and amusement, while B. spends one-third of his in earning supplementary “hour-notes” in addition to the earnings of his “Public” hours,—if A. and B. (having been equally well brought up—and furnished with the same motives for good conduct) thus choose, each in the exercise of his private judgment and free will,—the one, to live entirely for the Present moment, and the other to use the Present mainly for securing a more prosperous Future ; and if, *in consequence*, A. passes his old age in destitution, and B., besides being surrounded personally

with every comfort in his declining years, has the pleasure further of providing a marriage portion for each child, and of bequeathing to each a tangible memorial of his forethought and affection—why—that is their own personal affair entirely !

Society has done all that it justly can for both, in having *equalised*, as far as possible, *their several opportunities*. But one has used his well—the other ill. It would be offering an actual premium to Imprudence for Society to do any more. One thing however besides it will do for even Imprudent men—while letting them suffer personally for their folly—it will endeavour to *save their children* from a similar fate. It will do all that Education and Environment combined can do to prevent *their* teeth being “set on edge” because *their parents*, both or either, chose to eat “sour grapes” !

Is not this, I ask, a better ideal than the present Real? And yet—Is anything less than this Just? Is anything less than this Humane? Is anything less than this Christian?

An objection has been urged against these views, to which I have at present made no allusion, nor should I—so feeble and futile does it seem to me—but for the fact that one active writer calls it “the crux of the whole question, the root of the whole difficulty”—from which expression I infer that it does to certain minds present a certain measure of difficulty. I refer

to the objection that, supposing we Socialists should succeed by dint of new political arrangements, in interfering with, and curbing, or even altogether neutralising, that "beneficent" law of Nature under which only the "fittest" of a race survive, and all the remainder are "eliminated,"—why! we should be face to face some day with universal Famine!

"Supply and Demand" would no more carry off, as in Orissa, (a case to which I shall presently refer) a million and a quarter *surplus* mouths; but (as I suppose the theory is) we should,—*all* of us,—in Socialistic fellowship, gradually reduce our rations, straw by straw, until on some fine (or wet) day the whole nation perished! This is, we have been repeatedly assured, the "supreme difficulty" of our position.

Our critic is apparently unable even to imagine a race of persons actuated by true "Self Interest" instead of "Selfishness"—by common Sense and thought for the morrow—by anything except blind passion and sensual promptings. He sees around him a set of people who have been in their childhood deliberately urged and encouraged, even by their Religious teachers, so-called, to live in the main for themselves, to seek for themselves the single prize at school, in after-life the largest income and the highest honours for themselves, and with a view to the world to come, not so much that sanctification that would make them

“lovely and of good report” and “beautiful for ever,” in the eyes of all on-lookers, as their mere personal “Salvation”;—and, seeing these people do as they have been taught, and all of them turning a deaf ear to Mr. Malthus’ precepts, he supposes that this is a Uniformity of Nature, and that it will and always must be so! Whereas one of his own classics (cited in *Marshall’s* “Economics of Industry”) might have taught him that “The economist must avoid the error of regarding the present experience of mankind as of universal validity, mistaking temporary or local phases of human nature for human nature itself; having no faith in the Wonderful pliability of the human mind; deeming it improbable—in spite of the strongest evidence—that the earth can produce human beings of a different type from that which is familiar to him in his own age, and even perhaps, in his own country”!

In reply then to such Objectors, I would venture to suggest that a Socialist Community, such as I have faintly delineated, might possibly (if I may be allowed a second time to borrow a weapon from the enemy’s armoury) obviate, or rather anticipate, this the “supreme difficulty” in its way by following the simple principle of Commerce, and adjusting beforehand the “Supply” of Human beings to the “Demand” for them! It is, I humbly submit, just possible to be a “Socialist” without being a “Fool”!

I have still to describe, by way of contrast

with the "Ideal" I have sketched, the *Real and Actual* way in which *Labour* is, as things are now, *Rewarded*.

But that, and a *General view of Competition*, with a glance at something in its place and better, must wait for my third and final Lecture.



LECTURE III.

WHEN, in my Second Lecture, I reached the Seventh head of our lean cattle, I began, not by describing the actual inequities in our present system of Rewarding Labour, but by sketching what seems to a single "Christian Socialist" (for no other shares this responsibility with me.) a method, and the only feasible one that I can think of, for both avoiding our present Social injustices and the innumerable evils consequent on them, and also attaining our final aim, namely to Equalise the Opportunities of All!

The fact is that we are in a most unfortunate predicament—we Christian Socialists—about such schemes. For, if we do not produce one at all—why, we are set down, in that case, as mere theorists and "unpractical"! On the other hand, if we do produce one, why then—"It is impracticable"! From pillar to post—from the "unpractical" to the "impracticable" we are kicked about! Those are the two horns of a dilemma, on one or the other of which we are, if we may believe our adversaries of necessity impaled!

However, it remains to-day in the first place to complete our Seventh head, and then to make an assault on the Mother of all the seven lean kine, "Competition," to wit; I have then to propose to you, by way of substitute for

her, some better principle ; and lastly to show that the Renovation we propose is not less feasible than it is desirable.

With so much of preface I take up the thread of my discourse just where I dropped it, i.e., under our seventh head—

THE INEQUALITIES AND INEQUITIES IN THE ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE REWARDS OF LABOUR.

Seeing that Land, without Labour, is productive of little except Sloes and Blackberries, the mere assignment to him of an equal share of Nature's gift to the Nation in the shape of Land would obviously not enable any citizen to live—would not give him "Wealth"—unless he added "Labour" to his share of "Land." That is the consideration which, no doubt, underlies *Sir W. Blackstone's* dictum that "bodily labour bestowed upon anything which before lay in common to all men is universally allowed to give the fairest and most reasonable title to an exclusive property therein." What follows as corollary from this great lawyer's proposition? Not less than this, that the whole of the Wealth (including of course all the Capital) of any country belongs in justice and by "moral" right—the highest of all "rights"—to the "Working" section of the community and to them alone! Now, the strictly "Producing" section in the United Kingdom embraced five years ago, according to *Mr. Mulhall*, 4,630,000 families ; whereas

the "Wealth" produced that year (1882)) amounted to £1,247,000,000. It would appear then that the "producers" of the country produced enough that year to yield, if the total were equally divided amongst themselves alone, not less than £269 per family as the income of that year! But, in strict justice, the "Producing" class, pure and simple, had not a moral right to the whole of this great income. The "Distributing" and the "Stimulating" classes assisted less directly but as really in the national work, and might fairly claim some share, if not an equal one, with the actual "Producers"—having equally with them the right to call themselves, if their services were really beneficial, by the honorable name of Valuable Citizens and Useful Workers. If now we increase the number of participators in the national income by this addition, the amount of the share accruing to each participating family is reduced to about £200. A sort of "reduction" this, that most working men would, I fancy, willingly submit to—a reduction to £200 per annum as the family income! For that is really considerably more than double the total earnable, and on the average earned, by working-class families of different kinds throughout the country. "The very idea of distributive justice," as *Mr. Mill* observes, "or of any proportionality between success and merit, is, in the present state of Society, so obviously chimerical as to be relegated to the region of Romance"! Exactly

so! That is—is it not?—the very thought in the hearts of many of you who hear me:—“It’s utterly Utopian—an insane Dream—the merest Romance”! Yet “Useful and Reciprocated Work” is surely the proper bond and basis of Society; and the “Useful Worker” is the true — the only valuable — citizen! “Non-producers in any form”, as *W. Volckmann* tells us in his beautiful pamphlet on “Reciprocity,” “may not be truly considered as partners; they are a great disadvantage to the State, contributing nothing to its well-being, while largely absorbing the gains of the active partners”.

Even supposing it were held to be compatible with Justice that only the External gifts of Nature should be communised, and that, as regards Internal personal endowments, each man should enjoy through life the whole advantage naturally accruing to him from his congenital superiority in wit or strength, and that to that extent the law of “Competition” should prevail and have free play,—it would still seem incontrovertible that each worker (paid “by the piece” as he then would be, and not “by time”) ought at least to receive as his pay a full equivalent of whatever value was added to the raw material on which he worked between the time when it reached, and when it left, his hands. But no! The claims of Ground-Rent, and of Interest intervene; and even the most skilled and able workman is most liable to be heavily mulcted on that account.

“Men, after dining well,” according to *George Eliot*, “often agree that the good of life is distributed with wonderful equality”. Yes, but what about those who never do dine well!—who never dine out with any one at all except “Duke Humphry”! Look at the action of the “Law of Supply and Demand” upon the rate of wages paid to the less gifted class of workers, and especially that paid to women (not that I am so rash as to imply that “Women” are “less-gifted”!) In the “Children of Gibeon,” *Claude* says to Valentine as follows:—“Supply and Demand means that women have got to take the best terms they can get; in the struggle to live they undersell each other till they reach the lowest terms on which life can be supported. The employer gives the lowest wages that will be taken. There is no question of Justice or of Kindness or of Mercy. They call it a Law of Political Economy which must be obeyed”.

Valentine:—“Is it also a Law of Political Economy, that the Men who employ the women are to get rich? Who makes such laws? I suppose the manufacturers! Let us make our own laws [N.B. the speaker was a woman!] for the women; and the first law of all, that, whether the employer gets his profit or not, the girls shall be properly paid”!

Claude:—“We should then lose the services of the employer”!

Valentine:—“Then we would do without him!”

The above, though taken from a work of fiction, is no exaggeration of the facts. “The

law of elevenpence half-penny" (or "of the lower limit") as *Mr. Besant* calls it, allows only 11½d. a day to a London Sewing Girl, (perhaps exclusively engaged from January to December on sewing button-holes!) as an average rate of payment. Three girls together can earn 17s. 3d. per week: deduct 4s. for Rent; and 13s. 3d. (i.e., nearly 7½d. a day per girl) is left to pay for Food, Clothes, Light, Fuel, Furniture, and Recreation! And, N.B., failure of employment from time to time reduces even this limit to a lower one!

A few days after reading the above, I met with the statement, elicited in a recent trial, that Hyam, the well-known "sweating clothier," makes, out of his Colchester factory alone, a net profit of £17,000 a year!

Again: *Mr. Osborne Morgan* lately stated that 1d. is paid for filling 144 match-boxes; and 3d. or 4d. for working all the day and half the night as well on a pair of trousers; 2d. also for making a full-sized pair of sheets—the worker having to find the extras!

M. Guizot has spoken of "Labour" as a "Bridle to restrain the Revolutionary tendencies of the poorer classes"; and no doubt honest labour has had that effect to a great extent by preoccupying the attention and the thoughts of workers. But yet it seems to me that the *knowledge* of some of the facts and figures about Labour and the way in which it is rewarded, such as are comprised, e.g., in that most admirable publication of the *Fabian*

Society entitled "Facts for Socialists", may possibly produce the effect not so much of a "bridle" as of a "spur" to revolutionary tendencies of a really desirable kind. "It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied"! says *Mr. J. S. Mill*; and it was no less an authority than an *Archbishop* (*Whately*) who tells us to "Begin reforming at once; proceed in reforming steadily and cautiously; and go on reforming for ever"!

Yet I remember many years ago how that the *Bishop* (*Ellicott*) of this diocese—a "Right Reverend" by personal character as well as office—ended his well-intended but futile endeavours to mediate between Employer and Employed, on the occasion of some local Labour struggle, by saying that, after all, such matters must be settled by the "Law of Supply and Demand". He did not indeed, so far as I recollect, express any approval of that "Law"; but neither did he express any disapproval of it that I saw; and that was what I regretted! Again: *Bishop Mackarness* (of Oxford) is reported to have told his clergy, in 1873, that "they had nothing to do with the relations between Capital and Labour". I, however, though not a bishop, and I can truly say "*Episcopari nolo*"!—venture to say that it is both anti-Christian and anti-Social to leave the vital question of wages to the arbitrament of so barbarous a method as "Supply and Demand." To illustrate the way in which this method affects human interests and human

feelings, I will give you an instance of a Government (our own Imperial Anglo-Indian Government) acting faithfully on the principle of "Supply and Demand":—A famine occurred in Orissa (a part of British India) in 1866, and the British authorities measured the wants of the famine-stricken inhabitants by the desires of the traders and merchants, i.e., the "effectual demand" of Commerce. They had intimation beforehand of the approach of famine. Some months indeed before it began, the official Resident in the country ventured to suggest to the authorities at head-quarters that large quantities of rice should be imported to avert the threatening famine; but the Board above declined to interfere, distinctly alleging as their reason that such a course would be "contrary to the principles of Political Economy"—those same principles, remember, of which the *Rev. J. M. Wilson* lately told us from our Cathedral pulpit that "there is no inherent necessity in the nature of things why they should work ill"! Later on, when the people were dying at the rate of four thousand per week, and the same Board had again been urged to do something, they made the following memorandum: "On general grounds the Board has a very strong objection to interfere with the course of trade". Again, in the following May, when the famine was at its height, in answer to another remonstrance from the local authorities, the Board replied that "it" (the famine, they meant) "may be

safely left to produce its own effect"! On which, *Mr. David Syme*, the author from whom I take this narrative, thus comments:—"And produce its own effect it did; for a million and a quarter of human beings died of starvation"! There is an unexaggerated specimen of "*Laisser aller*"—of the normal working of "*Supply and Demand*" in one of its relations! *Archbishop Whately* predicted, two generations ago, that "the time was coming when Political Economy would rule the world"! But, "*God forbid*"! say I, if she is to be a brutal, red-tape, rigid system of Economy such as on that occasion showed her Gorgon visage to her subjects!

Many however, and for one, the *Rev. J. M. Wilson*, assure us that in attacking "*Political Economy*" we are beating the air:—"O Christian friends," he prays us, "let us not waste time in bewailing the laws of Political Economy, which only tell us what will happen if we do not prevent it"! Indeed!—Indeed! but such a view is utterly mistaken. On Political Economy, as on most other Sciences, has been based an *Art*—the art of Legislation; and the doctrines laid down by Economical theory have been practically applied, and on the largest scale too, in the making of the laws of our own and other countries. *Mr. Cobden*, on his death-bed, remarked that the mischief practically wrought by a single sentence of *J. S. Mill's* more than outweighed, in his opinion, all the benefit which had accrued from all *Mill's* other

writings put together! And one of the leading Freetraders in the United States says, of a theory of the same Economist, that "it has led in the States, as wherever it is applied, to an intolerable system of class legislation, described as the building up of monstrous monopolies under the impudent imposture that they are useful," &c. It is not true then that Political Economy "only describes existing facts"! On the contrary, it often has been employed beforehand, as well as been pleaded afterwards, to sanction practices of great national import. A very poor sort of science would it be indeed if it threw no light, and was incapable of giving guidance, in respect of human conduct!

To return to our "moutons", or rather our "lean kine",—"you cannot", said *Arnold Toynbee*, "separate the *Wages* question from the whole question of *Life*." In the London slums, what chance has a youth or maiden of keeping the body clean and healthy, or of "entering into his closet" for private communing and prayer? Both Morality and Religion are made most difficult! If there are three causes more than any others (excepting Hereditary pre-disposition) responsible for tempting to *excess in drink*, they are, as I believe, the following:— (1) Overwork; (2) Foul Air; and (3) Deficiency of Harmless Recreation-sources. And all of these three combine against the London worker, male and female. Not at all surprising is it therefore if these often drink to excess. And the Girls—the

“Unfortunates”, so-called—is it not often Poverty—more often at least than any other cause, that drives them on the street? It is not at any rate for those who sit in the light of happy and healthy homes, and see abundance round them, to cast one stone at either Drunkard or Street-walker!

“Then at the balance let’s be mute,
We never can adjust it,
What’s done, we partly may compute,
But know not what’s resisted.”

There is a Scottish proverb that says: “People with naught are naughty”! People with naught, or next to naught, in the way of youthful advantages and family affections; people with next to naught in their pockets, and with little except evil in their mental “chambers of imagery”—is it not natural that such develop often into slaves of either Vice or Crime?

On the other hand, in BROTHERHOOD, (the number for May 20, 1887; for this paragraph is really postscript to the lecture) there was given, on pp. 56, 57, after a most interesting account by the Editor, of M. Godin’s “Social Palace”, or Familistère, in the town of Guise—a truly beautiful and socialistic institution—the following instructive testimony to the power of improved environment in the direction of improving character:— “Numerous as the population of the Social Palace is, forming indeed quite a town, the order among them appears to be all that could be desired. Police

cases are said to be quite unknown among them. It may perhaps surprise some of our teetotal friends to learn that, although M. Godin and his workmen are not teetotalers, and although beer, wine, and cider are retailed on the premises, drunkenness is a vice from which that happy community is quite free. This is one proof more", the Editor remarks, "of the fact that intemperance can be combated at least as successfully indirectly by a social reform as directly by mere teetotal efforts. People living in healthy comfortable homes, with pleasant meeting-places and means of rational enjoyment, surrounded by an atmosphere of sound public opinion, are not at all as easy a prey for the Drink Demon as those who are overcrowded, uncomfortable, and destitute of innocent social resorts." Most sound philosophy, this !

Some people comfort themselves, in the contemplation of men's very unequal fortune, with the reflection that such men, or rather families, as rapidly grow rich as rapidly wax poor ! And, economically, no doubt, 'tis good that, as a Lancashire proverb has it, "from clogs to clogs is only three generations." But look at the moral side of the same picture : One generation grasping, greedy, miserly, and hard ; the Second launching out into every sort of vicious extravagance ; and the Third ending his life in all the poverty of his grandfather's early days but without any of the energy and temperate habits that made his

later fortunes so great a contrast to his earlier! I notice, in a history of Modern England, recently brought out by *Mr. Spencer Walpole, junior*, that he assigns the place of "1st." among the causes of the *Moral* improvement of the Poor of the United Kingdom between 1842 and 1860, the fact that their *Material* condition was just then improved. If that and their Education are, both of them, improved in the degree they ought to be, considering that they, as the sole wealth-producers, have the first and strongest claim upon the wealth,—it can hardly be doubted that the entire Working class will become very superior to what any class now is—at least in the Morals that make a good man if not in the Manners that constitute a pleasant one! But a share in the same Education as the gentle-folk, so-called, enjoy, and the habit of daily working with these in the Public portion of the day, would fit them—I feel no doubt at all—before very long, for pleasant fellowship alike with scholar and with peer! As *Dr. F. Mason*, once an artisan and afterwards an eminent scholar, divine, and missionary, remarked (and he, N.B., spoke from his own personal experience!):—"There is no reason why working men should not acquire good manners. It requires no Capital. The manners of a gentleman may be acquired by observation." And again:—"There is no one practicable thing which would do so much to break down the bar that separates working men

from the classes above them, as for the working men to acquire the manners of those classes. It is a thing that every man may obtain for himself, and valuable property that he may leave his children"! "See how Grace teaches a man to handle his knife and fork"! was the remark of *Dr. Chalmers* on his ploughman coadjutor Alexander Paterson. You may call it "Grace," or "good feeling"—it comes to the same thing in my opinion; the practical admission that I ask you to make is that Working men have it in their power to become good-mannered men. There is no insuperable impediment to this. It is possible indeed to be *over-particular* and *ultra-fastidious*, as well as to be rude and boorish in one's tastes and manners! There is a danger not less of rubbing away the whole strength and substance of the material through polishing too much, than of failing to bring out the grain through polishing too little! But whether or no I am right in expecting so much to follow in the way of moral benefit from making idlers do their proper share of work, and securing to all workers their proper share of pay,—of this I have no doubt at all, that *not* to do both of these is to be *Unjust*—is to be *Unwise*—is to be *Unchristian*!

Mr. J. S. Mill was not a Socialist; and yet even he, when he surveyed the state of the United Kingdom in his day, was forced to comment thus:—"If," he said, "the choice were to be made between Communism" [And,

N.B., that goes far beyond "Socialism"—abolishing as it does all Private Property] "with all its chances and the present state of Society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence that the produce of labour should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale—the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable,—until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty upon being able to earn even the necessities of life—if this, or Communism, were the only alternatives—all the difficulties, great or small of Communism would be but as dust in the balance"!

Now it is no light utterance—this of *Mr. J. S. Mill*; he was no mere rhetorician laying traps for claps, and using hyperbolical language in a serious discussion. We may be sure that, in saying the above, he meant it. Probably however—and this I freely admit—he believed that our country is not placed between the horns of this terrible dilemma, and shut up to either the perpetuation of the present state, or the extreme of Communism;—probably he deemed it possible so to limit the action of "the Tiger, Competition" (we have to thank *Professor Marshall*, it is said, for that most appropriate designation!) by setting up legislative barriers *in re* the "Land" and "Testamentary

Dispositions", and by a further dissemination of Political Power among the masses, as to preserve our present social framework and yet alleviate our present Social misery.

But, for myself—on grounds which I am about to specify—I hold that the notion of putting the "new wine" of Happiness and Justice into the old—the very old and rotten "bottles" of the existing Individualistic system, has far more truly the nature of a Utopian and impracticable Dream than any scheme devised by Socialist or Communist. It is not enough, in fact, to kill or muzzle the "seven lean kine" above referred to,—in vain should we neutralise the action of the whole of these—as long as the illfavoured, infernal, Devil-inspired, and teeming Mother of them all is still "alive and kicking"—as long, I mean, as we continue either to act individually, or to frame the common social fabric, on the lines of COMPETITION.

"COMPETITION" PORTRAYED.

I DON'T know whether Photographers are expected to take out a license before practising their art—I have not done so myself; and yet I am about, for the nonce, to invade the Photographer's province, and to construct for you a portrait of "Competition", the mother of our "seven lean kine," taken in the light of "Common Sense", and "Sympathy", and "Christian Ethics",—these three—jointly. Sit quiet, Madam, while I hold the faithfully recording mirror up to your ugly face!

She begins her evil work at School—setting all the pupils of a class, under “Reverend” auspices often, to fight against one another for the single proffered prize! Also one School against another—each trying to carry off most scholarships and honours—all heedless of the fact that, as *Archdeacon Fearon* exclaimed indignantly, “as not only scholar competes with scholar but school with school, and headmaster with headmaster, one is ready at last to exclaim, ‘I cry you mercy, gentlemen, lest amongst you all, these poor boys be ground to powder’”. Then again the Workers in every trade compete against each other for employment; the Employers of every trade compete against each other; while the Workers compete against the Employers to raise, and the Employers against the Workers to lower, the wages paid. One trade competes against each other, e.g., Grocers selling Drapery, and Drapers Books. Wholesale Dealer competes with Wholesale, in the same trade, for customers; and Wholesale Dealer against Merchant or Manufacturer above him, and against Retail Dealer below him, each struggling against the other for the larger share of profit. Consumer and Retail Dealer compete against each other; and Retail Dealer against Retail Dealer, in the same trade, for the custom of Consumers. Hence the enormous expenditure in hideous and confusing and almost wholly useless Advertisements — “Keen” competing against “Colman,” and “Eno” against “Seigel,

as to which will come nearest to expending a million a year in this fashion! Meanwhile the Consumer, i.e., the General Public, has to pay the piper! Hence too the ever-increasing outlay on shop-fittings and shop-windows and illuminations—to make a show! Hence, in great measure, the “long credit” system, ruinous alike to buyer and to seller! Hence the manufacture, wholesale, not only of “Goods”, but of “Bads”, in the shape of Cheating and Lying Shopmen—compelled to cheat and lie, on pain of dismissal, by their competing employers! [If you doubt my statement, read the Revelation on the subject made by *Herbert Spencer* in his Essay on “The Morals of Trade”.] Hence also the numerous Bankruptcies of men competing, and making haste, to be rich! In America—where the sway of Competition is even more autocratic than it is in Europe—it is said (*Marshall* gives an American Economist as his authority for the fact) that “three-fourths of those who engage in trade become insolvent in the course of the first five years”! Hence also the stupendous system of Adulteration with its most disastrous National as well as Personal results! But of this I will speak more particularly presently. “Competition”, says *W. R. Greg*, “gluts our markets, enables the rich to take advantage of the necessities of the poor, makes each man snatch the bread out of his neighbour’s mouth, converts a nation of brethren into a mass of hostile isolated units, and finally involves capitalists and labourers in one common ruin.”

For instance : a product of mechanical skill and labour fetches, when sold, a certain price ; and for shares of this the following three parties fight—each hoping that his share may be the largest :—(1) the Ground Landlord (the party most certain of his share) ; (2) the Capitalist Employer, who found the workshop, tools, and machinery, and advanced the wages ; and (3) the Actual Worker, who, as he only does the work, gets much the smallest share in the triple scramble.

Or, if it is some Agricultural Produce, selling for so much—for shares in the price contended for—(1) the Landlord (till lately, except in Ireland his interests have been the safest, and his share has constantly been growing larger !) ; (2) the Farmer, who stocks the farm, finds tools, and superintends the work ; and (3) the Labourers—who work in the sun and the rain, and who plough and harrow and reap and thrash ! Their share, again, is the smallest, while their work is usually the hardest.

Then we have Railway competing with Railway—each cutting down the other's profits ; and sometimes a second railway made for the simple purpose of cutting out the earlier one. Again : we have numerous Companies constantly competing for the favours of Investors ; and even Companies are formed for the sole purpose of " promoting other Companies " ! I once had the honour of knowing the Secretary of such a Company. Again, it is Competition mainly that, through excessive Subdivision

of Labour, with a view to increase the Employer's profits, dehumanises men and makes them into mere machines! It is Competition that sets one Lady spending and dressing against another—to outshine her! Competition that makes men and women, (or rather, “ladies and gentlemen”) marry for Money instead of Love! Competition that spoils our Education,—making the parent care—not for what suits the powers of the child and will therefore tend to his happiness, and still less for what supplies a deficiency in the Commonwealth, but—only for what will enable the child to get a better income, or cut a finer figure, than his peers, when he has reached manhood. It is Competition that enables a Large Capital to swallow up and bring to ruin a host of struggling little ones! It is Competition that is ever widening the gulf between the very rich and the very poor, and blotting out the “Agur” class of men who have “neither poverty nor riches”. And that its effect in this direction is increasing would appear from the remark of *Professor Cairnes*, that “the conclusion to which he was brought was this, that, unequal as is the distribution of wealth already, the tendency of industrial progress . . . is towards an inequality greater still.” It is Competition, again, that constantly drives country people into those great unhealthy tumours we call “Cities”! It is Competition that fills our Asylums with Lunatics, and our newspapers with accounts of Suicides! It is Competi-

tion that makes men "Partisans" instead of "Patriots", and degrades both Parties alike into rival suitors for Place, and for the favour of the "Irish Brigade"! Competition it is, too much, that fills the Churchman with zeal against the Nonconformist, and vice versâ! And Competition that has split our Common Country up into so many Sects and Classes, filling too often their hearts with mutual ill-feeling! When Bread, the very staff of life, is cheapened through the goodness of a harvest,—under the law of Competition down go workmen's Wages to the old Starvation point! This is but the natural action of this "beneficent" law as Political Economists call it. In answer to the question: "When is the Country in a prosperous state"? all Sellers reply: "When Prices are high"! "Nay, but when Prices are low"! says every Buyer and Consumer. "When raw materials are scarce"! says the Producing Class; "Not so; but when they are abundant"! say, on the other hand, Consumers. "When the supply of seekers after work exceeds the demand for them"! say all of the Employing class. "Rather when demand for working men exceeds supply"! say the Working Men themselves. "When money's dear"! say persons who are paid fixed fees or salaries. "By no means! but when money's cheap"! say all those whose rate of profit varies.

What must we think of a system under which the interests of different classes in the same community are opposed to each other to

this incredible extent? And Competition is the cause of the entire absurdity! Again: we find that, when Corn or some other article of commerce seems, through the failure of a harvest, or for some other reason, likely to be scarce and dear, speculating merchants buy up beforehand all that they can of the existing stock, in hopes of making the necessity of the Public their Private opportunity (as Bishop Hatto did about the grain; and as Joseph—son of the supplanting Jacob—did about the land in Egypt) for getting good through others' evil. They keep it back till people are nearly starved to death for want of what they have hoarded up; and then, when it will keep no longer, or when the moment for the highest price is reached,—they sell! And now and then, thank God! such people *are sold*! It was just such a deed of darkness that first made *Fourier* a Socialist. For it became his duty, as the agent of a firm in a French port, to assist in throwing overboard, at night, in secret, a cargo of secreted corn that the owner had kept till it was musty and unsaleable—while people around were starving—and which he dared not then, when it was spoilt, destroy in open day, for fear of being torn to pieces for his selfishness by the hungry and angry populace. And yet—"to buy in the cheapest, and sell in the dearest, market"—what can be more innocently normal, what more natural and legal, what more common-place and common, than this? To seize the occasion of another man's neces-

sity—for lowering his wages, for raising his rent or the rate of interest on money lent to him, for increasing the quantity of his work, or decreasing the modicum of his leisure—what can be more in accordance with Competition, that “beneficent” law of nature, than any and all of these? “It is Nature’s way”, says a Moralist of the evolution school, *Professor Lloyd Morgan*, (in his “*Springs of Conduct*”,) “of evolving a clever, active, and powerful race! only the fittest survive! the rest are doomed!” “Nature,” it is true, as *M. Renan* testifies, “is an embodiment of Injustice”! But that is a trifle, says the modern Moses! Competition prevents monopolies, and lowers prices; Competition again is a powerful lever for stimulating lower and less noble natures; and, because we derive from its use these two advantages, we are justified in using it! That is, we employ *Evil* to overcome “Evil,” instead of following St. Paul’s advice and overcoming “Evil” with a stronger *Good*!

To sum up and affiliate the “seven lean kine” of our first two lectures on their putative mother:—It is *Competition* (1) that makes the naturally Clever and Strong take advantage of the Stupid and the Weak, instead of regarding their superior “talents” as “trusts” intended, like the Land, to be used for the good of the whole community, and so for the glory of the Giver. It is *Competition* (2) that gives a better Education to a rich man’s child than to a poor man’s, and that impels both alike to selfish

action. It is *Competition* (3) that causes Land-impropriation, and that is constantly raising Rents. It is *Competition* (4) that gives rise to the Private Capitalist, and so enables thousands to live in idleness on Interest and at the cost of others' labour. It is *Competition* (5) that divides the members of the same community into a "Working" and an "Idle" class—providing the most Leisure for those who least need and deserve it, and vice versâ. It is *Competition* and Greed, combined, (6) that divert from Useful ends one-third of the Labour of the Nation, and secure a higher rate of pay to work of a less serviceable kind. It is *Competition* (7) that,—while it assigns, on the one hand, the Lion's share of the Produce of human labour to such as have taken no part at all in its production,—makes it most difficult for the hardest and most numerous workers to procure even the necessaries of life.

If the Cause and Root of such Effects as these be not an evil one—a very "root of bitterness"—then I should like to know what in the world is Evil!

I said I would refer in greater detail to one most disastrous effect of the Competitive principle, to wit

ADULTERATION,

and other forms of Commercial Cheating. It is a fact, of which I was informed by one present on the occasion, that quite lately a meeting was held of the Church-members of a certain

well-known congregation here,—many of them engaged in Trade or Business of some kind,—and that the question was formally brought on for Debate and discussed “Whether it is, or is not, possible, in the present state of the Commercial world, to observe the precepts of Christianity and at the same time to succeed in Business”? And it was decided, my informant told me, by a majority of votes, that the suggested combination was impossible! And yet the *Rev. J. M. Wilson* tells us that “the present principles of Society do not necessarily work ill”! Perhaps indeed not “necessarily”; but yet the “temptation” into which they lead men must be of prodigious strength for such a Resolution as the above to get a majority of votes in a body of professing Christians and Church-members!

In order to illustrate the effect of Competition on Commercial morality, I will give you first a passage from the *Manchester Examiner and Times* of 26th July, 1876:—“At a meeting of the various Operatives’ Associations of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, held at Blackburn on the 25th July, 1876, it was stated” [and no contradiction, so far as I know, has since been given] “that Calicoes were now adulterated to the extent of from 80 to 90 per cent”!!

For years past the Lancashire Mill-owners have been making a kind of *Calico for the Indian and China markets*, the material of which consists of about two-thirds cotton and

one-third flour sizing and china clay. The Chambers of Commerce at Shanghai and other places remonstrated with the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on the matter; and in 1875 the subject was brought formally before that body, when, after a full discussion, the Chamber came to the conclusion that "any interference with the present practices was not desirable"! What followed? Several Cotton mills were erected near Bombay and Calcutta partly in consequence of this adulteration of British goods; and the *Times of India* said of this local (Indian) Cotton-mill industry that it owes its success mainly to the dissatisfaction of the purchasers of the Manchester goods with the dishonest system of mixing with the cotton china clay.

But Competition is ubiquitous and can thrive in any climate; and, before long, some of these Indian firms began to over-size their calico; and, in consequence, the English Revenue Commissioner for the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency, in the interests of the Natives (to his honour be it recorded!) wrote a letter to the Indian Government, urging that an Act be passed for the prevention of frauds in the preparation of cloth in the Bombay mills; as, he said, if once large profits were derived from the practice, it would be impossible to stop it. The Government, on the orthodox "circumlocution" principle, referred the matter to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce—a body chiefly composed of Eng-

lish merchants and the agents of English firms—and that body, in a lengthy document, endeavoured to show that any interference of the legislature with the “course of trade” was unnecessary and pernicious! The Commissioner, when informed of this reply, remarked that, considering the composition of the body from which it emanated, its tenor was not at all surprising—these gentlemen being mere “traders,” and a bale of adulterated cloth being just as much an “article of commerce” as one honestly prepared! There was a “demand” for such cloth, [just as there had *not* been a “demand” for Rice in the Orissa Famine!] and the business of the Trader was simply to “supply” the demand—they therefore naturally objected to the interference of Government, and they quoted (N.B.) *Mr. Mill and the Economists* to prove that “laissez faire” was the only proper treatment of the question. And yet *Mr. Wilson* assures us that the Laws of Political Economy “only tell us what will happen if we do not prevent it”! It would seem however that they did a little more on this occasion at any rate!

But it is not in India alone that, in the matter of Cotton goods our trade is being ruined by Adulteration. For instance, towards the close of *Lady Brassey's* “Voyage of a Sunbeam”, we read as follows:—“This p.m., as we were steaming up towards Suez, I had a chat with Mahomet, one of our Indian firemen, who was fringing a piece of muslin for a tur-

ban, and I asked him if it was English. "No, Missie, no English! Switzerland! English no good: all gum and sticky stuff, make fingers dirty; all wash out; leave nothing"! In the South Sea, and Sandwich Islands, and in the Malay Peninsula, the natives, she remarks, make the same complaint as to the Manchester Cottons. At Hong Kong too, she tells that some of the large shops had fifty expensive English Ships' Compasses on hand, all quite unsaleable owing to the liquid having gone bad through not having been properly prepared. Some American Compasses of the same quality were however in good order, and not in the least affected by the climate. "It will be a bad day," she remarks, "when the confidence in England's honesty as a nation throughout the world, and consequently, her well-earned supremacy in commerce, have past away! The burden", she adds, "will not fall on the heads of the offenders alone; but, as usual, the innocent will suffer with and for the guilty".

But America herself does not escape contamination, if at least we may accept *Lawrence Gronlund's* evidence to that effect. He says, in his "Co-operative Commonwealth", "Adulteration of provisions and merchandise is notoriously carried on in every branch of trade that will permit of it; has indeed become a social institution against which no law can make any headway. A representative of a leading spice house lately said: 'We sell to the trade more adulterated goods than pure; we

cannot help it; we simply sell the retailer what he wants. It would ruin the trade to forbid adulteration. Manufacturers of "mineral pulp" now boldly importune respectable millers and grocers to mix rockdust with their flour and sugar'".

Again: *Mr. Rider Haggard*, in his recently published story "*Jess*",—a story based apparently on the author's own experience of South African life—tells us that there is a set of people in the Transvaal and other Boer settlements—called "English Boer-vernukers", i.e., "Boer-cheating Englishmen", who have earned that name through their habit of travelling about the country for the purpose of "selling to simple-minded Dutchmen worthless goods at five times their value". And yet there was a time—with pride I read it in my boyhood—when an Englishman's "word" was as good as another man's "bond"! But

"Tempora mutantur; nos et mutamur in illis"!

To quote *David Syme* again (for several of my "Adulteration" instances I am indebted to his valuable "*Outlines of an Industrial System*"):—"British manufacturers," he remarks in 1876, "have become so accustomed to make goods merely *for sale*, that they seem almost to have forgotten that they are wanted *for use*! This is more especially the case when the goods are intended for export. Any rubbish, which is quite unsaleable at home, is considered quite good enough to send abroad"! Three such instances,

he says, occurred lately in different Australasian Colonies within a few days of each other :— (1) Machinery, ordered from England for the Government of Victoria for pumping out a large Graving Dock, was found, on arrival, to be quite contrary to specification and unfit for its purpose; and the necessary alterations, made in the Colony at great inconvenience, cost as much as the original machinery! (2) The Government of New Zealand gave an order for Iron Rails sufficient for the construction of one hundred and sixty miles of Railway; and, when the first shipment of them arrived, they were found, on examination, to have been made of Cinder—with only a coating of Iron outside! [Do not forget, by the way, that I am citing these as illustrations of the “beneficent” working of the law of Competition; and imagine the fate of the travellers upon rails like those!] (3) Iron Rails for some hundreds of miles of railway were ordered for the Government of New South Wales; and when the first instalment of these arrived from the mother [observe the epithet “mother”!] country, they too turned out to be Cinder within and Iron only on the surface! And in each of these instances, N. B., the order was executed by a “highly respectable” firm, so-reputed! “Some day”, *Mr. Syme* comments, “England will wake up and find herself without a character and without an export trade”.

But the Home trade also, and not the Export trade alone, is suffering. Take, e.g., the case

of "Calico" again. *The Warehousemen and Drapers' Journal* for October, 1875, announced that "Manchester" (Manchester itself, or "Cottonopolis", as it is called) "was importing long-cloths and calicoes of American manufacture". And, within twelve months, these, together with cloth from Belgium, were largely introduced into England and Australia too, and commanded a ready sale, as being both cheaper and better than the "Manchester" goods of Manchester itself!

Here is another recent cutting from a newspaper: "In Oldham the discoveries of false packing continue to be made. A bale of cotton which was returned was found to contain one-fifth of sand. In another, eight per cent. of damp was found in the Cotton consigned to a large company". And you have not forgotten—have you? the description of the "meal" sent out to feed our soldiers in the Soudan—"meal" (save the mark!) that was so charged with plaster that, when a sack that had got damp was emptied out, the contents stood bolt upright without support—a solid block!

Yet it is acts like these for which the radical Quaker *Mr. John Bright* apologised—when it was proposed in Parliament to visit Adulteration, especially of Food, with heavier penalties—it was for acts like these that Mr. Bright—the same man who laid down that it ought to be a statesman's aim "to put Holy Writ into Acts of Parliament"—apologised—on the ground, if I remember right, that as Free

Traders we could not consistently interfere with "freedom of contract" or the free course of Trade! Let "Freedom of Contract," and "Free Trade" itself, go to the dogs, say I, rather than the word of Englishmen cease to be their bond—rather than have it written of us, as of a clever merchant-race of old, "The British are always Liars!"

I am reminded, as I put these facts on record, of the following lines in *Coleridge's* well-known poem, "The Devil's Thoughts":—

"Down the river did glide, with wind and with
tide,
A Pig with vast celerity;
And the Devil looked wise as he saw how the
while
It cut its own throat!—'There!' quoth he, with a
smile,
'Goes *England's Commercial Prosperity!*'"

It was the same Coleridge who uttered the sentiment that "Political Economy" and "Sectarianism," together, would be the ruin of England. I used to think his apprehension was unfounded. But if by "Sectarianism" he meant the breaking up of Society into Classes and Parties from the mere spirit of Division—I think he was pretty nearly right!

I mentioned "Adulteration" among the fruits of Competition. In saying so I do not intend to deny that other causes may, in certain cases, co-operate with Competition in giving birth to this Monster: but, as a whole, and in the main,

I feel justified in charging it upon Competition, as a result most likely, from the very nature of things, to ensue from the working of that evil principle.

I have now completed my sun-picture of "Competition"; and I ask you, as men and women of Sense, and as men and women possessing Human Feeling, and also as men and women who, many of you, call Christ "Lord",—whether it is Good, or Bad—Right, or Wrong—Christian, or Unchristian—to carry on our Social Life in the power of this monstrous, this bestial, principle?

I would ask you also, as a question of mere Policy, whether, with a principle of this kind running through our entire Social System—nay, constituting its very warp—it is probable—it is even possible—that we can attain to a true National Prosperity?

The *Rev. J. M. Wilson*, however, the headmaster of Clifton College, joins issue with us at this point, and maintains, as against us, that all the "evils of Competition could be met by altering the *spirit* of the Competitors." That seems, at first sight, a very reasonable and arguable proposition. And of course we, no less than he, consider an alteration of the personal disposition to be a condition essential to the evolution of an ideal commonwealth; far—very far are we from imagining that a *mere* alteration of individual *environment* is capable of ensuring even individual happiness; but the question on which we disagree is, whether the

alteration of the disposition is sufficient by itself, without a parallel and contemporary alteration in the environment, i.e., in the Social system, to secure the end which Mr. Wilson equally with us Christian Socialists desires to see realised. Shortness of time, however, prevents my arguing the question out at length, and I must content myself to-day with a single illustration of what seems to me the absurdity inseparable from the working of such a compromise as Mr. Wilson's words suggest. Let me then imagine this gentleman, in his professional capacity as Head-master of a school, addressing the boys of his sixth form at the beginning of a Term, as follows:—"My lads!" (I seem to hear him say) "the *Competitive System* under which we live and work obliges me to spur you to exertion in the coming term by holding out the offer of a valuable prize—a *single* one, observe—for the boy who, by dint of either superior industry or natural gifts, or both combined, succeeds in passing the best examination at the end of the term. It becomes your duty therefore, each of you, to try to excel the rest, and to obtain this single prize for himself exclusively! On the other hand, the 'Christian Religion', of which I have been ordained a minister, compels me to remark, that it is also, and simultaneously, your duty, (as being under orders, each of you, to love his neighbour equally with himself,) either to abstain altogether from trying to secure this single prize over the head of the others,

or, so to arrange, if possible, (when the prize has been obtained by a single boy) that all alike who have made equal efforts, (without regard to the number of marks they have attained) may be equal sharers in both prize and praise. How that can be arranged I am not able to advise you; but you are bound to manage it, if you would combine (as my doctrine implies that you can) *an anti-competitive individual disposition, with an Educational System based on Competition.*"

"Sir!" (replied with one voice the boys of the Sixth form) "That is a poser!"

But, while arguing as above against one utterance of Mr. Wilson's, I am pleased to welcome him as, in the main, a fighter on our side. For I find in a sermon preached by him in connection with the "Beaumont Trust"—besides many other noble sentiments—this following admission:—"Of course the Christian Church takes as its ideal a Christian Socialism in which all reap the fruit of their labour, and labour for the good of others, as well as for themselves." Very good, Mr. Wilson; but what we want to know is *How* "all men" are to "reap the fruit of their labour" so long as *the present system*, to which you make no objection at all, continues, i.e., so long as the Wage of Labour is determined by the utterly immoral law of "Supply and Demand?" There's the rub! That it is which makes the gulf between your position and ours for the present impassable

RECIPROCITY—OR CO-OPERATION—A SUBSTITUTE FOR COMPETITION.

FROM a saying of the saintly Archbishop Fénelon (who died without money and without a debt) I first got the notion that while Love is the root whence grow all beautiful and Christian virtues, every vice and form of moral evil is the natural outcome and fruit of either (a) want of Love, or (b) wrongly directed, or (c) excessive—Love. Afterwards I recognised that Christ himself implicitly taught this in summing up the whole body of Human Duty under the “First and Great Commandment” and the “Second” one—the “Golden Rule” of “Reciprocity”. And yet “Competition” is employed in practice and defended in theory by the Christian Churches as a rule! I regret to have to say that, in the few months that have passed since I have been openly contending against Competition, I have met with no opponents so resolute in opposition as “Christian” ministers so-called; at the same time that no argument has more frequently been urged against our views by avowed Non-Christians than this, that, Christianity having in all these centuries utterly failed to pull down or even make war against Competition, it cannot in reality be antagonistic to this principle. I am prepared however to prove—equally against the Bishop of the Diocese who does not condemn “Supply and Demand” as the arbiter of Wages, and against the Reverend

the Head-master of Clifton College, who denies that "Selfishness" is one of the present principles of Society while admitting that "Competition" is its very corner-stone—that whoever does not perceive that the Teaching of Christ and his Apostles is in direct and indignant opposition to this principle, is ignorant of the plainest A.B.C., as also of the very essence and kernel, of that religion!

It is not in one or two places, or in one form only, that the disciple of Christ is told that the measure of the love he is to show his neighbour is the love he feels for and exhibits towards himself. Neither is he expected, as a general rule, to love his neighbour better than himself, nor is he in any case permitted to love him less well than himself. "I am the humble disciple", said the illustrious *Le Claire* in his Will, "of Him who has told us to do unto others as we would have others do unto us and to love our neighbours as ourselves"; and the Socialistic and most beneficent actions of the man proved his to be no vain profession. On the other hand, the word "Competition", and the thing itself in action, if they have any meaning at all, mean this, that a man shall seek his own interest exclusively, both in preference to another's and, if need be, to another's detriment. He may not indeed break the laws of his country and rob or kill his neighbour, but any mischief to him short of actual breaking of the law he may do, and indeed must do, if he would behave "normally".

under the present system and earn for himself the name of a consistent "Competitionist." Here is a passage already quoted once from a standard treatise on Political Economy by that very advanced and truly "liberal" thinker on many subjects, *Professor F. W. Newman*:—" *One's own interest*" (he italicises the words that there may be no mistake) "is the main and rightful moving principle: of which we ought not to let sentimental moralists make us ashamed! The grand and noble moral theorem expounded by Political Economy is that the laws of the market which *individual* interest generates are precisely those which tend best to the *universal* benefit." Again:—"Competition is, in the market of the world, what Gravitation is in the mechanism of the heavens, an all-combining, all-balancing, and beneficent law." (The Italics, after the first, are mine.) We have seen—have we not?—some, and sufficiently convincing, specimens of its "beneficence"! How is it too, I would ask, if its action is so supremely "beneficent," that Society should find it needful, now and then, to counteract and curb it? Our "Factory", and "Mining", and "Workshop Regulation" Acts, our St. Lubbock holidays and the whole network of our "Public Health" legislation—are all of them in the teeth of Competition, limits imposed upon her power. So was the Abolition of Slavery at the cost of twenty millions sterling. So is the "Plimsoll Load-line", painted upon merchant vessels. So has

been every "Poor Law", and every "Education Grant." All have been interferences with liberty—with the freedom of the strong to compete with and take advantage of the weak! Moreover, I should like to put the question—whether it be the fact that under this sacred "natural law" of Competition, which tends, we are assured, throughout the whole realm of Nature, to the "survival of the fittest"—whether, when applied to the Human species, it does invariably, or even in the main, produce the effect of the "survival of the *fittest*?" Is it the "fittest" among human beings, the really worthiest and most serviceable individuals, the persons of the truly highest type, that have come best off in the main? It seems to me just possible that some lookers-on might well come to the conclusion that, as a rule, the "Unfittest" survive and come to the top in the sense of getting the highest prizes of life, the largest estates, the places of greatest power, and the highest honours! It seems to me that, if the "struggle for existence"—the Evolutionary Moralists' ideal of Social life—were carried to the logical and bitter end, till the absolutely fittest, and they alone, survived,—we should see the "Drones" of each community exterminated, with short shrift and no "benefit of clergy"! This obvious inconsistency arises from the circumstance that the competitors in the social race start differently weighted: one begins life heir to half-a-dozen palaces while a dozen others begin and end it in a Union Workhouse

But what is the good of thus nagging at the present system, and of finding fault with its underlying principle of "Competition," unless we are prepared at the same time to name some better one as Substitute, and unless, further, we are prepared to prove about our Substitute, (1) that it is very much better; and (2) that it is practicable! Unless the Evil to be remedied and the Good to be achieved are, both of them, very great, Reform is not worth the trouble it involves—so radical a reform as this at any rate. For, as *Frederic Harrison* remarks, "the making of the modern omelet does need a most horrible smashing of eggs!" Well, I think I have proved—have I not? that the Magnitude of the Evils calling for removal is by no means insignificant. It remains for me now to shew that the remedy I propose for them is both adequate, if feasible, and feasible, if adequate. I do not, however, profess to provide a remedy for *all* evils—I cannot, e.g., pretend to interfere with the course of Storms, or altogether to abolish the Natural Disparities between one man and another. All, I maintain, that we can do with evils such as these is to remove their causes—if, and so far as, we can—and to mitigate their effects where the causes are beyond our reach :

"For every ill beneath the Sun
 There is a cure, or there is none!
 If there be one, then try to find it;
 If there be none, then never mind it!"

As to such evils as arise from Human Error, Crime, or Sin—they are either due to Ignorance, or are committed against light and knowledge. Well, by Education we can in great measure abolish Ignorance—the cause of one moiety of these; and further, a well-devised Education, by supplying strong incentives and pure motives on the side of Right, can, in all probability, greatly diminish the number of the other sort of evils—in which the Will is the chief culprit. Objectors say it is impossible to diminish evil, and refuse accordingly to try—something like the man who having once been nearly drowned refused afterwards to enter the water until, he said, he had learned to swim! As if a man could ascertain his powers except by trying! For my part, I believe in the power of honest, intelligent, well-directed effort to accomplish wonders—especially of men united in their aim. I believe in the power of Men to rule Mighty Nature by playing one law or force of hers against another,—making progress by “tacking,” or, what is called, the “composition of forces”, when the power against one makes direct progression in its teeth impossible. I believe in the power of Sentiment—in the presence universally in human hearts (though, as Dickens puts it, at the top, in some cases, of a long and narrow winding staircase) of a Poetic feeling—a true human Sympathy—through which men can be raised from level up to level till they reach and realise a high ideal. As *Mrs. Browning* writes:—

“ It takes a soul
To move a body : it takes a high-souled man
To move the masses, even to a cleaner sty !
It takes the Ideal to blow a hairbreadth off
The dust of the Actual ! Ah, your Fouriers failed
Because not poets enough to understand
That life develops from within ” !

That is the doctrine alike of Poetry and of Christianity, as well as the lesson of History:—*out of the heart* are the issues of life! Support the Centre of gravity and the whole Circle is upheld ! As *Mr. Edward Carpenter*—Mathematician, Musician, Poet, Market-Gardener, and Socialist—wrote beautifully two years ago, “ Even granting that Competition has hitherto been the universal law, the last word, of Nature,—still, if only one man should stand up and say, ‘ It is not the last word of my nature, and my acts and life declare that it is not ! ’—then that so-called ‘ law ’ would be at an end ! If only one man, with regard to Social matters, speaking from the bottom of his heart, says : ‘ This shall not be—behold something better ! ’—his word is stronger than all institutions—all traditions ! And why?—Because the bottom of his heart is also that of Society, of Man ! Within himself, in quiet, he has beheld the secret, he has seen a fresh crown of petals, a golden circle of stamens, folded and slumbering in the bud ! Man forms Society,—its laws and institutions ; and man can *re-form* them ! ” That thought, in part, is the ground of my belief in the feasibility of the

substitution of a better principle for "Competition"; and, for the rest, it is based upon *Experience*—to wit, of vital, total changes that *Individuals*, as we all know, are capable of undergoing; and of whole *Communities* also, large and small, which have existed, and have even flourished, on a Non-Competitive basal principle. I admit that the change we advocate is great—the change of the Social Principle from Individualism or Egoism to true Socialism—as wide as, and far more deeply reaching than, the change from the Ptolemaic system of the universe to the Copernican; but it is not greater, on its very different scale, than is the change that such men as John Bunyan or Richard Weaver or St. Paul *individually* underwent, when—adult and worldly-minded or bigots as they were—they became "a new creation," old things all passed away, and behold, all things became new! Nay the change need not be nearly so remarkable as that, if we work with the flexible and impressible material of childhood. Look, for instance, at the experience of *families* where Love is both by precept and example instilled into children's hearts, and mutual help into their practice from their earliest years! To them it is quite natural to live in unity. Look again at the experience—the wonderful and long continued success—of the "Jesuit Missions" in Paraguay, where, for a hundred and fifty years and more, *as many as a hundred thousand* Indians, trained like the early Christians to have "all things in

common" (or nearly so,) lived without rivalry, in mutual love, in virtue, simplicity, and prosperous comfort! Here is a summary of what *Mr. Kaufmann* offers us as a tolerably correct and unvarnished account of one of their Mission Villages or "Reductions:"—It was a model of order and regularity; perfect uniformity was observed in its long, comfortably-built rows of houses. The great square was the centre point, the public resort and general rendez-vous of the people; upon it were erected the church, the college, the arsenal, the stores, the workshops, together with other important buildings. The precision of clockwork prevailed. The people prayed, toiled, ate, and slept, so long and no longer; from one duty they passed to another, like soldiers changing guard,—“equally participating in the labours of the day, each one undergoing his measure of fatigue for the one and common family;” and so on. Well, you will say that it not a very attractive picture—at least to a free-born Briton! True! But the raw material was poor in this case—native Indians, to wit! And the trainers themselves, the Jesuit Missionaries, were bigots and lovers of power; the Steam-engine too, and a thousand other aids, were still to be discovered; for the time I speak of lay between A.D. 1608 and 1768! What befell at last was neither internal dissension nor decay; but the Jesuits having been forcibly expelled by a foreign power, a reign of spoliation and corruption took their place. In the palmy days of these

“Missions,” perfect equality prevailed among these Indians, and Money was altogether absent.

No doubt that was a very peculiar experiment. I only bring it forward as a proof that the Eradication, for all practical purposes, of the principles of Covetousness, Personal Ambition, and Rivalry, from the minds of a *considerable community* of people, and for a period of *several generations* is *Not an Impossibility*.

There is, again, the experience of the “Moravian” semi-communists — numbering nearly two hundred thousand at the present moment; as well as of several Communistic Societies, particularly in America, in recent years. And crude, ill-planned, and unfortunate as many of these have been, the impetus in this direction is far from being discouraged or exhausted. So strong is the life, and so deep the faith, in the Social or Co-operative principle, in civilised human hearts, that even within the year no less than four distinct organisations have been effected, and four colonies been planted, of this description, upon the Pacific coast. I refer to the Sinaloa colony in Mexico; the Kaweah Valley colony in California; one in Columbia County, Oregon; and one at Port Angeles in Puget Sound. (See BROTHERHOOD for 10th June, 1887). Again, we can point, in this country, to many Societies engaged in *Co-operative Production* (I don’t refer to “Stores,” nor yet to the “Wholesale” Co-operative estab-

lishments) which have done great things for the working class and are destined doubtless to do greater far! “Co-operation,” said *George Jacob Holyoake*, from his Presidential chair at the Congress this very year (1887) “has given the Working Classes what Competition never gave signs of giving them. They own lands, streets of dwellings, and almost townships; they own vast and stately warehouses in Manchester, London, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Glasgow. They own a bank, whose transactions amount to £16,000,000 a year; they possess more than 1,400 stores, which do a business of over £30,000,000 a year; they own share capital of $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions in amount, and are now making, for 900,000 members more than £3,000,000 of profit annually. The mighty power of co-operation has enabled the working-classes in the last twenty-five years to do a business of £361,000,000, giving them a profit of 290 millions. In all the far-reaching dominions over which her Majesty reigns there is no body of working people so independent as the co-operators, who not only own property but own themselves.”

“Co-operation” is very commonly supposed to mean merely “Every man his own shopkeeper, with share of profit to the purchaser, and no risk of adulteration.” But “Co-operation”, as applied to “Production”, means a great deal more, and goes a great deal deeper. The “Rochdale Equitable Pioneers’” definition of the word runs thus:— “The main principle

of Co-operation is that in all new enterprises, whether of trades or of manufacture, the profits shall be distributed in equitable proportion among all engaged in creating it." Besides "Co-operation" pure and simple, we have both at home and abroad many cases, most successful alike morally and materially, of what is called *Industrial Partnership*, in which the "Capitalistic" and "Co-operative" principles are combined. Such is Leclaire's establishment in France; while in England we have the recent cases of Messrs. Thomson & Co., of Sheffield, and Messrs. Waterman & Co., of Bristol. "The Director of the Statistical Bureau for the Kingdom of Saxony has," says *Mr. Kaufmann*, "shewn that in *one hundred and twenty* practical cases of different industries spread over various countries, the application of the Industrial Partnership principle has had the desirable effect of improving both the social condition of the wages-labourer and his relations with his employer." I have not time to investigate and appraise all the details of this evidence on this occasion—I must be content with saying that, in my own opinion the history of even the failures in the list, e.g. many of the N. American instances, suggests much more ground for Hope than for Despair. The cause of the failure is in most cases so plain, and in many could be so easily avoided.

We have, again, the "Credit Banks" of *Schulze-Delitsch* in Germany, for advancing money, on a principle of "mutual insurance,"

to Artisans and the Smaller Tradesmen—to the number of above 3,500, and comprising more than a million of shareholders; possessing capital too, for lending purposes to the extent of nearly £10,000,000 in 1881. In the same country are *Herr Raffeisen's* similar Banks for the use of Farmers. In Italy too (See BROTHERHOOD for 27th May, 1887), there have been established “People’s Co-operative Banks,” which differ from the Schulze-Delitsch Banks in being based on the “Limited Liability” principle. At the end of 1885 there were in Italy 423 such Associations, possessing, among them, a subscribed capital of £3,000,000, and deposits on account amounting to £7,000,000—their object being “to enable artisans, peasants, small tradesmen, and others, *by voluntary combination*, to obtain credit which otherwise could not be had at all except on payment of usurious interest.”

All of these, as also “Mutual Insurance” Companies of every kind, are movements in a Socialistic direction—breakwaters set up against the overwhelming flood and force of “Competition”!

Let me now describe more fully what we “Christian Socialists” believe to be the only possible, as well as the only right, foundation for a really prosperous and just-thinking community to build upon—the “one word which,” *Confucius* told men more than 2,000 years ago, “may serve as a rule of practice for all one’s life”—the word “Reciprocity”, or “Service in

exchange for Service". There is absolutely nothing in this transcending the requirements of common Justice—nothing demanding any superhuman or ascetic elevation to heights inaccessible to ordinary mortals! To "reciprocate", and cherish "public spirit" in our daily life,

"We need not wind ourselves too high
For sinful man beneath the sky"!

We need only to "put ourselves in others' places", endeavouring to realise what is felt by others with natures in the main like our own, and how any particular line of conduct on our part is likely to affect them. That combination of Imagination and Pity which we call "Sympathy",—that it is in us which inspires and will ensure Just Dealing! I have already cited the pre-Christian *Confucius*; but the philosophic heathen *Marcus Aurelius* instructs us to the same effect: "Labour not unwillingly", he says, "nor without regard to the Common Interest"! And again: "We are made for Co-operation—like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and lower teeth. To act against one another is contrary to Nature." Surely it is a Socialist speaking! In a very powerfully-argued passage also, in his 1st Book, the "Judicious Hooker" makes his appeal to *Nature's* teachings, thus:—"Natural inducement hath brought men to know that it is their duty no less to love others than themselves How should

I look to have any part of my desire to receive good satisfied, unless myself be careful to satisfy the like desire which is undoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same nature? My desire to be loved of my equals in nature as much as possibly may be imposeth upon me a natural duty of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equality between ourselves and them that are as ourselves, what several rules and canons Natural Reason hath drawn for direction of life no man is ignorant; as namely, That because we would take no harm, we must therefore do none; That sith we would not be in anything extremely dealt with, we must ourselves avoid all extremity in our dealings; and such like". It is a notable and instructive fact, moreover, that *Adam Smith*, the reputed "father" of Political Economy—the very writer who rested his "Economical" system wholly on the Selfishness observable in human nature (as if there were no other, and counteracting principle inherent in it also!)—in another book of his, his treatise on the "Moral Sentiments"—had recourse to totally different premisses. Man is no longer, with him there, Selfish, but Sympathetic; and "Sympathy", he remarks, cannot in any sense be regarded as a selfish principle. "The desire to better one's condition" henceforth takes a subordinate place in his system. There is, he says, *another* principle, which should determine every act, and that is "Justice"! He even goes so far

as to trace the desire of wealth itself to the Sympathetic affections! So far Philosophy, and Human Nature!

Christianity then steps in and supplements the resources of Human Nature for the provision of both motive power, and reason, for Reciprocating. "But", say our opponents, "Christ's religion has already had given it almost two thousand years of trial in this matter, and——has failed"! "Nothing of the sort"! we answer. Christianity, pure and undefiled and thoroughgoing, *has not yet been tried at all*—at least on a large scale! For it has not been seen as yet, even by Christians themselves, that Christ's Christianity implies, as its very essence, practical human Sympathy and Reciprocity, and that these are the very medicines which have all along been needed for men's social ills. The Churches themselves—the Christians, so - called, themselves—have been, as were the bibliolatrous Scribes and Pharisees of old, the chief hindrances to the Social part of the work of Christ! We ask you however to judge Christianity, not by its failure in the past, (that failure we regretfully acknowledge,) but by its *essential doctrines*—in broadest, brightest, contrast as they are with so-called "Christian" practice. We beg, nay implore, you to believe that, as the philosophic *Immanuel Fichte* says, "Christianity yet carries in its breast a renovating power of which we have no conception. Hitherto it has only acted on Individuals, and through them on the State

indirectly. But whoever can appreciate its power, whether he be a mere believer or an independent thinker, will confess that it is destined some day to become *the inner organising power of the State*; and then it will reveal itself to the world in all the depths of its ideas and the full richness of its blessings”!

What right, I would ask you—when you come to think of it—what right have any except such as in heart are Socialists to use the “Lord’s Prayer”—its first half at least—and to say “Our Father”—while in their hearts and lives denying Human Equal Brotherhood? . . . or to pray that the Universal Father’s “Name may be Hallowed”—while bringing such great discredit on it through their unsightly and unholy selfishness? . . . or to beg that the “Kingdom of Heaven may come”—all the time that, in fighting against “Christian Socialists,” they are doing their utmost to put off the day of its coming? . . . or, lastly, to ask that the “Will of God” (who, though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor!) “may be done upon Earth to the same extent that it is done in Heaven”—all the time they are defending and in act embodying the most unheavenly principle of Competition?—As though “Competition” was the foundation of the Heavenly Economy! As though the “Struggle for existence” had place amid its inmates! As though it were the will of Christ that men should ever compete against each other except as to who will do the greatest service to the

rest! As though we were not bound—if at least we venture to call Christ our “Lord”—to set up *outside us*, as *Miss Nightingale* points out, that very Kingdom of Heaven which has been, as is the supposition, already set up *within us*! I quite agree with the *Rev. J. M. Wilson* in his contention that “distinctively Christian principles, as distinguished from universal principles of justice, are apparently not intended to govern the corporate life of a nation until the individuals in the nation are more or less transformed by them.” But then the “principles” which we insist upon and advocate so urgently are not of that description, being, as they are, a portion of “the universal principles of justice;” and, therefore, as merely moral men, and if we would but act in character as complete human beings—it is our duty to strive heart and soul to get rid of Competition not only from our conduct and disposition as Individuals, but also from our National economy. And what we “Christian Socialists” are aiming at is, by the introduction of what we believe to be “Truth in Social matters” into individual minds and hearts, to form a nucleus, or many nuclei, of “Public Opinion,” which, growing from “mustard seed” to wide-branched “monarch of the forest,” shall ultimately affect the laws—nay, shall mould the whole political system of this land, and of all others in good time! First the Moral, and afterwards the Material, revolution! The State is made up of Individuals; and whenever the day comes—

if ever it comes—when the majority of individuals have (through Teaching, and Preaching, and kindred influences, and especially through witnessing the ever deepening, and blackening, and multiplying corruption and deterioration that are engendered by the present system) become Socialists at heart—then it will be time enough to make the Constitution Socialist by Act of Parliament. Before that “good time” has come no doubt much piecemeal reform will have been effected in a Socialist direction and through the action of the Legislature treading in the foot-prints of an advancing Public Opinion.

Meanwhile, we believe, with *Henry George*, that “The Salvation of Society, the hope for the free and full development of humanity, is in the Gospel of Brotherhood—the Gospel of Christ”! “The New Testament is”, as *Mr. Kaufmann* tells us, “the very Magna Charta of the Rights of Labour”! So at least it seems to us! And to us, so thinking, it is most painful to hear, e.g., *Mr. G. S. Reaney’s* testimony as to the feeling in relation to the Christian religion which is now being engendered in the minds of many in the East, that is the poorest, part of London, by their bitter personal experience of life. “The injustice of life”, he tells us, “is becoming the living creed of men who curse the God of the Churches and the rich.” From my heart I long to tell these heavy-laden ones that, whatever the “Churches” may say, Jesus Christ Himself

has passed an absolute and irreversible condemnation on the present system, root and branch; that He is against it; that He hates it; that it is Anti-Christian; and that if only all Englishmen—or even the majority of them—were “Christians” in deed and in truth, they would quickly sweep away the whole cursed system with the “besom of destruction”! No wonder men hate “Christianity”—as they hate “Political Economy”—when they hear that Christianity has no objection to offer to the present system, but only to the present spirit. Both are alike bad: and the Bible—the object of worship, in its letter, to so many English men and women—condemns them both alike! “Usury”, e.g., a term that, in the original language, covers no less the lowest than the most extortionate rate of “Interest”, is utterly forbidden in that book. “Land-accumulation”, again, is discouraged, alike in the “Law of Jubilee”, and by the prophetic “Woe” denounced on those “who add house to house and field to field, till there be no place left” “Woe”, again, St. James denounces against those who “keep back by fraud the hire of the labourers” while “living themselves in pleasure on the earth, and being wanton”! And all these three are essential parts of the present system—offshoots from the stump of “Competition.” People quote, it is true, in defence of the present system, such a saying as “He that hath—to him shall be given”; and a single mention with approval, in a single parable, of

“going to the Exchangers,” i.e., the Bankers, (who give Interest on Loans,) is paraded as a sanction of the modern practice. But if a mere reference to a principle in nature or a common human custom is held to imply approval of it, then is the apostolic allusion to “one” prize, and one alone, for all them “that run in a race,” an actual condemnation of the divine free offer of salvation to “whoever will”; and “stewards”, on a similar principle, are justified in swindling their employers!

No! Christianity’s counsels fall short of neither those of Common Sense, nor yet those of Philosophy! While “Common Sense” instructs us that Self-love is, like “Fire”, “a good servant but a bad master”, and also that, like Fire, it can be kept in bounds,—“Philosophy,” in *Goethe’s* person, assures us that “we ourselves are only to be valued in so far as we value our brother”! And the poor, down-trodden, only lately liberated, Serf of a thousand years, in Russia—while we learn from the *Countess of Galloway* (“XIXth Century”, May 1887) that “un pour tous, tous pour un” (i.e., “each for all and all for each”) is the genius of the Russian Nation,—*Stepniak* tells us that “the Russian peasant makes the devotion of the Individual to the ‘Mir’ (i.e., the Community) the key of morals”. Here is an illustrative bit of Russian Fable talk he gives:—

“What hast thou seen on earth”? says the Lord to St. Cassian.

“I have seen a ‘Moujik’ (‘peasant’) found-

ering with his car in a marsh by the wayside”.

“Why hast thou not helped him”?

“I was coming before Thee and was afraid of spoiling my bright colours”.

Then another Saint—Nicholas, to wit, comes up to the speakers, dirty:

“Why so dirty, Nick”? says the Lord.

“I also saw the Moujik, and helped him out”.

“Well”! replies the Lord, “since you, Cassian, cared so much for dress and so little for your brother, you shall have only one day in the year named after you!

“But you, Nick, shall have four”!

Does not St. Nicholas here remind you of the lovely picture of a Country Parson in *Goldsmith's* “Deserted Village”?—

“Far other aims his heart had learnt to prize:

More skilled to raise the wretched, than to rise!”

But, leaving the Religious aspect of the question altogether out, and taking up the ground of Utility and General Expediency, we were told by the poet *Pope* a century ago that “Our being’s end and aim” is “Happiness” and to that teaching has been added by Utilitarian philosophers that the politician’s final aim should be “the greatest happiness of the greatest number.” Now, even those among us who deny that “Happiness” ought to be our aim, will admit, I should think, that it by the “greatest happiness of the greatest number” is meant their “truest” happiness that would not make at all a bad *criterion* of

right action even where the position of the agent's "aim" was occupied by some different principle, e.g., the Will of our Creator. Employing then this phrase as our "criterion", let us ask "Under which rule the greatest number of individuals in any Community are likely to attain the Greatest (or Truest) Happiness—under a régime of "Competition", i.e., "Each for himself and Plague take the hindmost"? or under a régime of "Reciprocity"—all the labours alike and the joys of life being shared as equitably as possible among all"? You will not hesitate about your answer, I am sure! You will see at once that while the present system is most favourable to the exceptionally strong and clever, and the unscrupulous of every sort, it is in an equal degree adverse to the interests, both moral and material, of the men of average ability, and especially of men penetrated with a sense of Justice and of Sympathy. So far is the present system from favouring Virtue that I do not hesitate to charge it with actually offering greater facilities to Might than to Right, to Greed than to Moderation, to Lying than to Truthfulness, to Ambition than to love of Liberty. The continual comparison also between oneself and others to find out which is prospering most—the ceaseless effort to be first and to excel—is alike narrowing to the heart and destructive of all calm of spirit. As to the "material" effect produced upon the Masses, their Economical condition in the present and all past

times gives ample, and unvaryingly adverse, testimony. Under the present system indeed the very virtue of "Selfhelp" becomes in its effect a "Vice"; because things are so arranged and balanced, that it is hardly possible for a man to help himself without at the same time becoming, to at least an equal extent, *an actual hindrance to some other!* On the other hand, were all the members of the same community co-workers for the Common profit—co-members of the same Co-operative association, each would have a personal interest in the faithful and effective fulfilment of duty by every other—each would "look diligently", (as the author of the "Epistle to the Hebrews" puts it,) literally: "would exercise the office of Overseer or Bishop" over others, lest any single member fail to do his duty to the whole, and so all the others suffer through him! No doubt Official Inspectors would be needed at first. But is it not so at present? What else are our armies of Foremen, Clerks of the Works, and to a great extent, our Employers of Labour? And little wonder is it that such officers are needed now—*now*, when the workmen are aware that the chief part of the proceeds of their work will not be enjoyed by them! But *then*—when each workman will in fact receive and enjoy the entire produce of his personal effort—except in so far as Nature has lent (not given) him exceptional faculties—to be employed, like her gifts in Land, for the General Good—there will be much less need of watching, and of

spurring than is now required. Look, e.g., at the testimony that writers upon "Peasant Farming" have borne (*Mr. J. S. Mill*, for instance) to the industry and zeal, the whole-hearted devotion, that agriculturists shew when they feel that they themselves, and not a landlord or a farmer intercepting, will enjoy the total produce of their labour. The well-known saying, "The magic of property turns sand to gold", suggests what a stimulus is given to Industry by the Sense of Ownership! It is true that, under a Social system, the Fee Simple of the land will not be private property; but, though Messrs. A, B, and C, farming land under such a system, will not have the satisfaction of knowing that the land they work on is their private property, they will at least be saved from the bitterness of feeling that it belongs to Mr. D, or E, or F. It is, they will be aware, "family property," and, as members of the family, they are joint heirs and enjoyers of it. It is exactly that joint-ownership of land, or rather the remembrance of such joint-ownership in ancient times, that makes the Irishman a foe to England now, that makes him so dearly love his country and so hotly hate his landlord—it is the memory or tradition that his cot and holding is a part of what was once the property of his "sept" or "clan," or "tribe;" and we cannot surely wish for stronger land-love than what warms the breast of Irish "Cottiers"!

Look again at the great advantage, of an

Educational sort, that so many Common Interests will give the Individual citizens! What teaches men "Politics" (I don't mean Party Politics, but the understanding of their country's business) so well as working on Councils and Committees with their fellows—all charged with some important business for the general welfare? So efficient would be the training of that sort, so abundant also and diversely localised, under a Socialist régime, that, before very long, in all probability, Police, and the forcible element in Government, would have become comparatively needless! All citizens alike would have "given hostages to fortune;" all equally would be, both through their fortunes and through their reputations, supremely interested in the General Order and the General Progress! Look at the time and strength now wasted in Competing and Obstructing over Public business, both in Parliament and elsewhere! How much of that would not be then "redeemed!"

We are assured however that in eliminating Selfishness we shall have thrown away our only available stimulus to Industry and to Invention; and that we should necessarily degenerate into a nation of half-naked, and ill-housed sluggards! Now I will not deny that good may have come to the human race out of Competition, as out of Plague and Fire and War and many other evils, in past times. It is needless to raise that question now. Let it be enough to urge that when Selfishness

is gone there will still remain two potent principles, to wit, "Self-love" and "Sympathy" with others. And as though a wise and moderate Self-love, balanced and complemented by Sympathy, and both of them generally distributed through the Community by early education, would not together make a stronger factor, and the cause of a greater aggregate of good, than all the distracted and mutually neutralising efforts of merely self-seeking units! As though a nation, pulling with a long pull and a strong pull and a pull altogether, were not a match, and more, for a mob, however huge, broken up into classes, sects, and factions, and a prey to discord! As though Public Opinion, when once convinced that Co-operation is a better policy than Competition, and leads to much better material results, would not be strong enough to suppress the writhings of disorderly Individual Ambition—regarded, as that would then justly be, in the light of a Public Foe! As though too a Machine, well-planned, symmetrical, the parts well-balanced, and the joints well oiled with "Public Spirit", would not be certain to work greatly better than—and would not be sure to be used, when once it has been tried, in preference to—one whose several parts collide, and rub, and grate against each other, owing to the Engineer who made it having, by mistake, inserted grit, instead of oil, between the wheels and other points of contact—the grinding grinding "grit", I mean, of "Competition"!

There is no possibility of giving full swing and play to the actions of both these opposing principles simultaneously, and afterwards, reconciling their several effects. The "Selfishness", e.g., that underlies Smith's "Wealth of Nations"—and the "Sympathy" which he exhibits in his treatise on the "Moral Sentiments"—are like two Kilkenny Cats, and will devour each other! But give to modified Self-love, (a very different thing from "Selfishness") and Sympathy with others, exactly equal weight and play—let either limit the action of the other (and they are not essentially opposed!) and you have before you the very axiom and spring of Christian Social duty!

Some years ago, the historian *J. A. Froude*, after enquiring into the nature of true National Progress, and coming to the conclusion that "true progress" means progress in the fear of God, and in the love of Man, and especially in Just Dealing between man and man in regard to Labour and its Fruits—drew a contrast between the earnest endeavours made by Statesmen in old time to make people just by Act of Parliament, and the utter indifference shewn, and apparently felt too, on the subject of Justice, in the present day; and then he proceeded as follows:—

"Provinces of action once formally occupied by law have been abandoned to anarchy. Statutes which regulated wages, statutes which assessed prices, statutes which interfered with personal liberty, in the supposed interests of

the commonwealth, have been repealed as mischievous. It is now held that beyond the prevention of violence and the grossest forms of fraud, Government can meddle only for mischief—that crime only needs repressing—and that a community prospers best where every one is left to scramble for himself, and find the place for which his gifts best qualify him. Justice, which was held formerly to be co-extensive with human conduct, is limited to the smallest corner of it. The labourer or artisan has a right to such wages only as he can extort out of the employer. The purchaser who is cheated in a shop must blame his own simplicity, and endeavour to be wiser for the future.”

“Habits of obedience,” he continued, “and moral convictions inherited from earlier times, have enabled this singular theory to work for a time; men have submitted to be defrauded rather than quarrel violently with the institutions of their country. There are symptoms, however, which indicate that the period of forbearance is waning. Swindling has grown to a point among us where even Mr. Bright preaches patience unsuccessfully, and trades-unionism indicates that the higgling of the market is not the last word on the wages question. Government will have to take up again its abandoned functions, and will understand that the cause and meaning of its existence is *the discovery and enforcement of the elementary rules of right and wrong*. Here lies the road of true progress, and nowhere else.”

Again: from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Michaelmas Day this year I take the following cutting:—

“At the annual festival of the Swiss Piusverein, which was held in Sarnen, *Oberriichter Ming*, the chief judge of the Canton Unterwalden, made a remarkable speech. As a Catholic and a lawyer, he observed, he had long felt that the Church was relying far too exclusively upon spiritual methods in dealing with social misery. She ought to care more directly for the total abolition of the bodily miseries of the oppressed proletariat, after the example of Christ, who was not content with preaching, but taught by a miracle that the people should have bread enough and to spare. The miracle of feeding the thousands seemed to him to be an indication of the Lord’s will as to the line His Church ought to follow. *Christendom alone can solve the social question. But it will never be solved by the mere working upon the heart and conscience of the individual. The spirit of Christendom, the laws of the Divine Spirit, must be incorporated in the laws of the State.* These at least of the Ten Commandments, said the judge, are ignored by the modern State:—The Fourth, which insists upon sufficient rest and refreshment for every creature; the Sixth also, which demands the protection of the workman from being murdered by slow poisoning in unwholesome workshops, and which indirectly prohibits the labour of children. The Eighth commandment, however, seemed to him to be most

flagrantly neglected as a principle of our social legislation. "Thou shalt not steal", if it were properly carried out in the form of law, would abolish the usurer, the bourse speculator, and the shameful unrighteousness of our wage system. The latter, as the Holy Scripture says, especially clamours to heaven for vengeance."

These seem to us to be wise and noble sentiments, and they are those of us Christian Socialists. They give succinctly the very reason why I, for one, am a Socialist! I think we need—in the "present distress," at any rate—both, in our Churches, the introduction of such preaching as Judge Ming desiderates, and also a much more interfering and paternal Government than we have, alike to enforce a share of duty-doing upon all, and to secure for each his equal opportunity of gaining a share of wealth, and rest, and pleasure. We are suffering for one thing, as I said in my first lecture, from a grievous deficiency of "Organisation"! "Suppose," says *Mr. Huxley*, "each muscle were to maintain that the Nervous System [i.e. the Controlling power in our Bodily organisation] had no right to interfere with its contraction except to prevent it from hindering the contraction of another muscle, [which is the very doctrine of Herbert Spencer and his school, as regards the "Body Politic,"] or each gland that it had a right to secrete so long as its secretions interfered with no other; suppose every separate cell left free to follow

its own interests and be 'let alone'—Lord of all! what would become of the Body Physiological"! Happily for our life and health, there is in *that* body, so long as it is working normally, no single gland, or artery, or muscle, no organ, and perhaps even no single cell, that is not under the control and influence of the central authority, i.e. the Nervous System! Read *Mr. Lawrence Gronlund's* "Co-operative Commonwealth," if you want to see this contention forcibly and more fully argued. It is largely, I believe, owing to our misuse of the great measure of personal liberty that has been given to us prematurely, i.e. before we knew how to employ it well and wisely, that we suffer from our present Social sickness! It is because a measure of personal liberty, fit only for men and women with a love of virtue and a high social ideal in their hearts, has been entrusted to a set of people in a state, as regards their great majority, of moral and social infancy!

What we need at present, beyond the candid recognition of our great defects and serious faults, is to educate our young, and also to persuade others to influence their young, that they, when they grow up, may live for nobler and more useful ends than we, their fathers, have lived—to fill them with public spirit as well as private sympathy, and to convince them, if possible, that, in thinking of the interests of other people in addition to their own, they are living a *double* life—at the same time promoting in the surest way their own individual happiness,

(which no man should despise!) and growing up also into men and women of a larger-hearted and a nobler type.

It is true, as *Herbert Spencer* urges, that, on our present suicidal system [that epithet is mine, not his!] of so binding our Representatives in Parliament by previous pledges as to make it impossible for them to rise above the level of our ignorant, impotent, and common-place selves—their constituents—and to give us the benefit of any superior Political Insight they may happen to possess—the Government (of this country, at any rate) is never likely to be superior in quality to the average standard of the people ruled. And *if* the Government is to be no better than now it is, i.e., than we ourselves now are,—how is it possible, objectors urge, that it will ever be able to fulfil all the functions that would devolve upon it under a Socialist constitution? To that objection I reply, that, if our scheme, or any like it, is ever carried out at all, it will not be until there has first been effected a vast improvement in the General Public's Aims and Sentiments. What will follow from that? Why! that Government, if only travelling *pari passu* with the advancing Public Sentiment, will also have improved and to the same extent!

No doubt, a change so great as we propose is enough to frighten Radical Reformers to become Conservatives! And no doubt, if your business is to choose between the *Present* (with all its admitted Ill to many, mingled with Good

to a few, and you one of that few) and such a Social *Future* as I have portrayed—you will say, with little hesitation, that the “Present” is better, and you choose it!

But, believe me, that is not the choice now proffered you! What you are now invited to choose between is—the comparatively “good tidings” proclaimed in our “Christian Socialist” proposals, and—the Revolution that the Blood-red Radicals and the Social Democrats are hoping to inaugurate. The “Present” system can in no case stand. Religion, Morality, History, and Present Public Feeling, are all off them in arms against it. “Competition”, like a runaway horse, is hurrying us from Bad—the Bad I have endeavoured to describe—to Worse—ay, right over the precipice, from Danger to Destruction, and—is Doomed!

THE GROUND AND NATURE OF OUR HOPE TO-DAY.

We shall be told however that dreamers of dreams have been before our time; and that if men like the Earliest Christians, and, in later days, Maurice and Kingsley and Tom Brown, have failed to “Socialise” society, over our heads too has probably been written “Failure”!

It may be so! Full many a dream in ages past has not been realised; toil has been undergone, and the oil of zeal been burned profusely, and blood even has been poured out

as freely as water—in support of many a cause foredoomed from the first to Failure! . . . Quite true! But Critics, N.B., as well as Schemers, have proved prophets of untruth, and their raven-like predictions been falsified by Events! Remember that! Even out of “Nazareth” has Deliverance come forth! and, as *Dr. Maudsley* says, “It has happened again and again in the world that opinions that seemed absurd to the common sense of mankind, and which were therefore counted ‘madness’, have turned out to be true”; or, as *George Eliot* words it, “The greater part of the world has often had to come-round from its opinion”! Nothing is more instructive in this direction than the History of Human Opinion—nothing more calculated than that study to strip the mind of “positiveness”—to make a student cautious equally about disbelieving and believing! Was it not the late Earl of Derby who offered to eat the first *steamboat* that should traverse the Atlantic? And the sapient M.P. who thought he had stumped George Stephenson and extinguished *Railways*, by putting the case of a Cow obstructing a travelling Railway Train (to whom G. Stephenson replied: “So much the worse for the cow”!)—which of the two do we think the more sensible now?

And it is not merely that Prophets rashly “predict” about us failure; the Critics also “predicate” of the very benefactors of their race all sorts of immoralities! The mere *Reform of the Calendar*, which was effected in

this country in 1752, and which involved September 2 in that year being followed immediately by September 14, could hardly be accomplished without a riot. "Give us back our eleven days"! cried out the ignorant and angry mob. Even so innocent a study as *Mathematics* has come under suspicion and the bann! We are told by Wood that, when the Savilian Professorships of Geometry and Astronomy were founded at Oxford early in the previous century, "not a few of the then foolish gentry" kept back their sons from the university "not to have them smutted with the black art"—most people regarding mathematics as "spells", and its professors as "limbs of the devil". Even in the middle of the same century *Hobbes* complains that the enlightened Universities themselves had only just given over thinking "Geometry" to be "art diabolical"! Again, whereas formerly, when a limb had been amputated, the only known method for *arresting blood-flow* was either searing the stump with red-hot iron, or plunging it into boiling pitch—when the present more civilised method was introduced, of tying the ends of the arteries with ligatures, it "was received with the bitterest abuse"! Similarly, when the use of *Chloroform*, as a means for preventing agonies to countless human beings, was discovered and announced by that eminent Philanthropist, Christian, and Physician, Sir James Simpson,— "It is sinful—it is flying in the face of Heaven!" cried out the "righteous overmuch" even from the pulpit.

So, when in 1753 a Bill was brought into Parliament to make arrangements for our earliest *National Census*, Mr. Thornton, M.P. for York, received the proposition thus:—"I did not believe there was any set of men, or indeed any individual of the human species, so presumptuous and so abandoned as to make the proposal we have just heard." And Mr. M. Ridley, M.P. for Newcastle-on-Tyne, remarked that "The people looked on the proposal as ominous, and feared lest some public misfortune or an epidemical distemper should follow the numbering". We read also that when, in 1810, it was proposed to make the *Criminal Law* more merciful—though merely to the extent of the clause which sentenced to the gallows every single child that stole a handkerchief—it was not exclusively men notorious for either stupidity or conservatism that rose in opposition, but—will you believe me?—"all the Judges and Bankers and the Professional men generally throughout the land" petitioned against the change! The then Chief Justice, Lord Ellenborough, even went so far as to say that such mitigation of the penalty denounced on pocket-picking "would imperil the public security"! Under similar influence, even so wise and fearless and patriotic a statesman as the first Sir Robert Peel saw, behind the *Reform Bill* of 1832, the Red Spectre of Revolution! Once more: when it was proposed, only some forty years ago, to change an "average" duty of 8s. on

Imported Corn into a "fixed" one,—Mr. Croker, one of the Secretaries of State, relieved his feelings as follows:—"Good God! what a chaos of anarchy and misery do I see in every direction from so comparatively small a beginning as this change from an average to a fixed duty!—the fact being that a "fixed" duty means no duty at all, and "no" duty at all means ——— *the Overthrow of the Political and Social Institutions of our country*"!!! I think you will agree with me that this gentleman and his name were very happily combined!

Well! after such specimens as the above of the value of the *vox populi* of the moment, you will, I think, be of opinion that we have no cause to be discouraged or alarmed by the mere fact that Prophets prophecy evil of us and Critics in newspapers and drawing-rooms revile us without measure. At least we can console ourselves with the reflection that the "Woe" unto people "of whom all speak well" is not denounced on us! The very name of "Socialist" seems indeed to stink in the nostrils of a very considerable and highly respectable public! "In some cases", *Mr. Kaufmann* tells us, "Clergymen have refused to bury Co-operators; and in one case a sexton refused to dig a grave for a Socialist's child". But what of that, if History confirms (and it certainly does!) *George Macdonald's* encouraging assurance that "the greatest successes the world has ever beheld have been at one time the greatest improbabilities"?

We have no desire to hide the greatness of the change proposed. No previous change—not even that of the First French Revolution—was, truth compels us to acknowledge, nearly so sweeping as this would be! That however began as a material revolution; and, in so far as it has been connected with Moral change at all, the Moral has come later—as Consequence, not Cause! Our opinion, on the other hand, is that of the eminent Socialist, *Ferdinand de Lassalle*, viz: that, “while it is the folly of immature minds, which have no notion of the laws of History, to *make* a revolution, it is equally foolish and childish to suppress by external means a revolution already developed from within”. From within outwards is the right direction for effectual progress! First fit *men* for Socialism; i.e., on the one hand, infuse an unambitious spirit and a pleasure in doing service into a generation of the young, and lead them to see the beauty of “Reciprocity” and the superior nature of its fruits; and, on the other hand, exhibit to them the full unsightliness of “Competition” in its causal connexion with our undeniable Social Evils! When Seed of this sort has been sedulously sown, and diligently watered and encouraged,—*a System* to match will be evolved by way of natural and almost spontaneous out-growth, as it was with the poet’s “Lady”:—

“A lady, the wonder of her kind,
Whose form was upborne by a lovely mind,

Which, dilating, had moulded her mien and
motion,

Like a sea-flower unfolded beneath the ocean!"

Slowly and silently the change takes place from Acorn into Oak. As silently, but not as slowly, we Christian Socialists desire to see our Ideal realised. We think the end we aim at beautiful and good, and wish also to see it prosecuted by appropriate, i.e., equally good, Means. We are afraid of neither the Critics nor the Prophets. They are quite as often and as utterly mistaken as are the victims of their operations. Still, it is quite fair, we must admit, that we should be asked "the reason why" we think the *Present* opens to us a wider doorway to Success than has been yielded to our equally zealous predecessors in the baffling and disappointing Past.

The special Ground then of our Hope to-day may be briefly summed up thus :

Whereas, in former times, the Masses may often have been as wretched, and may also have felt their miseries as acutely, as is the case to-day,—yet never before have they seen and felt them in such black and bitter contrast with the very different lot—the boundless prosperity—of the privileged few, the Classes!

Never before have they had so good an opportunity of laying the finger of precise apprehension on the real Causes of their miseries!

Never before have they been able to think in such freedom from the enthralling network woven round their mental faculties by Religious,

Social, and Political traditions !

Never before have the fundamental theories of the accepted Economical system fallen into disgrace and disrepute !

Never before have Books and Newspapers, and other sources of useful Knowledge been brought so well within the purse-reach of the Working-Classes !

Never before have so large a proportion of these been able to read and understand for themselves !

Never before have they possessed so much ability to speak, or to get others to speak for them !

Never before have there been so many means within their reach for comparing opinion with opinion and making preparation for united action !

Never before have the Workers had assigned them by the Constitution and their country's Laws so large a proportion of the whole Political Power, with ability themselves to redress, if they unite in willing it, their grievances both singular and common !

Never before have there been so many "Socialists"—men and women of different nations, of diverse classes, of varied accomplishments and intelligence, but all united by a common enthusiasm in the pursuit of a common and noble aim !

"Socialism" has in fact become the leading question of the day !

Living as I have done a retired and merely student's life, and taking no part at all in politics and little in local business—yet it has not escaped my notice that an extraordinary—an almost miraculous—change has come over Public Opinion, in the last dozen or fifteen

years, in respect of the old-established axioms of Political Economy. The experience of the past millenniums has in our day reached a crisis, and Economical Orthodoxy (or "Orthodox Economy"—whichever designation you prefer), having through all the Past been weighing in the balances, is *To-day* having judgment passed upon it and against it! The absurdity of resting the massive Social Pyramid on the narrow apex of "Individualism" instead of on the broad and steady base of "Social Feeling," has at last been recognised; and men and women are beginning in their secret hearts to hope that *William Morris* is a Seer of the near future when he sings:

"And the tale shall be told of a country, a land
in the midst of the sea,
And folk shall call it England in the days that
are going to be;
There are more than one in a thousand, in the
days that are yet to come,
Shall have some hope of the morrow, some joy of
the ancient home;
For then (Laugh not; but listen to this strange
tale of mine!)
All folk that are in England shall be better
lodged than swine!
Men in that time a' coming shall work, and have
no fear
For to-morrow's lack of earning, and the hunger-
wolf anear!
I tell you this for a wonder, that no man then
shall be glad
Of his fellow's fall and mishap, to snatch at the
work he had!

For that which the worker winneth shall then
be his indeed,
Nor shall half be reaped for nothing by him that
sowed no seed !
O strange, new, wonderful Justice ! But for whom
shall we gather the gain ?
For ourselves, and for each of our fellows, and
no hand shall labour in vain !
And the homes of ancient stories, the tombs of the
mighty dead,
And the wise men seeking out marvels, and the
poet's teeming head,
And the painter's hand of wonder, and the mar-
vellous fiddle-bow,
And the banded choirs of music—all those that
do and know—
All these shall be ours, and all men's ; nor shall
any lack a share
Of the toil, and the gain, of living, in the days
when the world grows fair !
Why then, and for what are we waiting ? There
are three words to speak :
WE WILL IT !—and what is the foeman but the
dream-strong, wakened and weak ?
Oh why, and for what are we waiting, while our
brothers droop and die,
And on every wind of the heavens a wasted life
goes by ?
Through squalid life they laboured, in sordid
grief they died—
Those sons of a mighty mother—those props of
England's pride !
They are gone ; there is none can undo it, nor
save our souls from the curse !
But many a million cometh ! and—*shall they be
better ?—or worse ?*

Come then, let us cast off fooling, and put by ease
 and rest;
 For the Cause alone is worthy, till the good days
 bring the best!
 Ah, come! cast off all fooling! for this at least
 we know
 That the Dawn and the Day is coming, and forth
 the banners go!"

The Dawn of a Better Day!—"Have you", enquires *Lassalle*, "ever witnessed a *Sunrise from a lofty mountain?*"

"A purple streak colours the extreme verge of the horizon blood-red, announcing the New Light; mist and clouds gather, roll themselves into a mass, throw themselves against the glow of morning, and succeed in covering its rays for a moment! But no power in the world can avail to hinder the slow and majestic rising of the Sun itself; which, an hour later, stands in the firmament visible to all, and giving light and warmth to all the earth!"

"What an hour is in this spectacle, which Nature presents us every day, one or two centuries are in the far more imposing spectacle of a *Sunrise in the World's History*!"

'Tis but the dawn at present; and *against* the light—the truth—the warmth—the love—of Socialism are rolling up the thick and murky glooms of Opposition! Only have patience and to your patience add painstaking and united effort,—and the Sun of Christian Socialism that is, of Sympathy and Justice, will arise, in all its brightness, above the horizon of our Social miseries, and with "Healing in his wings"!

OUR MORE IMMEDIATE AIMS.

OUR Ideal and Ultimate Aims being such as I have above endeavoured to portray, it is natural to enquire further—seeing that, even under the most favourable circumstances, a long time must necessarily elapse before so profound a change can be accomplished—what, if any, are the *more immediate steps* that we desire to see taken in and by our country in order to bring nearer and make easier the realisation of our final aims. It must be understood, however, that the suggestions which I am about to make with this intent, are wholly without authority, being only the conclusions reached by a solitary thinker unfortified by consultation with other persons, and therefore dependent for any value they may have on their own intrinsic merits only.

The following then are the Legislative Measures which seem to be suitable as Stepping-stones towards a National Socialism, and therefore to be objects for immediate furtherance by Christian Socialists:—

(1) Prohibition of the employment of Competition as an Educational lever;

(2) Education to be Universal and Gratuitous, and to include both Testing with a view to choice of Life-work, and Instruction in it, as well as Sustentation, partial or complete, while it is going on, in any cases that require such assistance;

(3) Instruction in Social principles, and in

the Duties of Family and Civic life to be compulsory;

(4) Reasonable Limitation of Working Hours;

(5) Governmental encouragement of Co-operative-Production enterprises;

(6) Nationalisation of Railways, Canals, Shipping, Mines, and Unearned Increment of every kind;

(7) Nationalisation of Glebe Lands;

(8) Letting of Glebe and Crown Lands in Farms to Co-operative Associations of Agricultural Labourers, or in Allotments to Single cultivators—in both cases with complete security of tenure;

(9) Nationalisation of the whole Land, and abolition of Subletting, according to A. R. Wallace's scheme;

(10) Provision of Better Houses for Working people—by help of Government advances;

(11) Provision of Work for such as through no fault of their own are in need of Work—without their being forced into the Workhouse;

(12) Stricter Governmental precautions, and severer enactments, against Adulteration, and every sort of Commercial Dishonesty;

(13) Incomes—so much of them as is necessary to support life—to be freed from taxation of all kinds; but Cumulative taxation to be imposed on all incomes above that figure;

(14) Abolition of Indirect Taxation;

(15) Reasonable restriction of the liberty of Willing;

(16) Local Option in respect of the Drink Traffic;

(17) Organised and Assisted Emigration schemes;

(18) In regard to "Interest", either:—a Limitation Act, so that, when the aggregate of the Interest paid has exceeded the Principal by a certain proportion, the debt itself be cancelled; and the same principle to be applied to portions of the debt; *or*: all future claims of Interest to be treated as "Debts of Honour", i.e., to be irrecoverable by legal process;

(19) As many Socialists as possible (and also advocates of any of the above measures) to be sent to Parliament.

Of all the above I am disposed to regard as of the most immediately pressing importance those which have to do with Education, with the length of working hours, with the houses of working men, with sending Socialists to Parliament, and with the liberation of the Land. Once give the workers of any community free access to, and power over, the Land, and—the Social ball is at their feet—they are, if united, absolute masters of the situation! For, put on *one* side all the Workers of this country with their clothes and tools, their trivial savings, and nothing else except the Land with the Raw materials it contains; and, on the *other* side put all the Capitalists of the country, with all their millions, and add to these all their dominion through money over foreign labour, but no land; and let the

workers of the country unite in a single comprehensive Co-operative Society with the object of getting Wealth out of the Land;—and, in five years' time, every working family in the country will be far better off than any is at present! For though Capital, own child of Labour, ought to be and might be its warmest friend and greatest aid, yet—as it is used, in connection with Interest and Rent, it not only is no friend, no help at all, to Labour, but actually Labour would be better off if Capital and all its idle holders were abolished from the country! For, as *Professor Cairnes*, a high Non-Socialist authority, assures us, “No public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class”. But, so long as the Land is in the power of the Capitalist, and not of the Working-man, it is obvious that Labour is powerless—a mighty lever able to move the world almost, but—without a fulcrum! Therefore it is that, if all the workers of the country combined to strike to-morrow, the chief sufferers in consequence would be themselves; the Capitalists would not be starved; for though they “cannot dig”, they have both the Land and the Cash wherewithal to pay foreigners to dig it for them. On the other hand, if the Workers had only access to the Land, and combined both to work it, and to “boycott” the Capitalists by refusing to sell of the produce of their work to them, the latter would have no choice—not if every one were a Rothschild—they must starve; for equally to leave

the country, and to import provisions, would be closed to them, if the crews of our fleets were in league with the workers on the land, and held both ships and ports. So great is the power of the *Land-holder*! So cogent is the reason for making the Land the Nation's property!

I have now reached my final sentence, and, in parting, I would ask you to believe (what I have said elsewhere) that it is no part of the aim or desire of us Christian Socialists that any person should employ illegal means even to counteract or prevent Injustice; still less would we use legal means for the attainment of an immoral end; we would limit our action strictly to the employment of legal means in pursuit of what is morally right. Further, we have no desire to stir you up to get the existing system turned inside out at once! What we ask you to do *at once* is to make two admissions—in your heart at least, if you will not do it with your lips: (1) that our present Social and Economical system is thoroughly Unjust and Unchristian besides being the parent of innumerable miseries; and (2) that some such ideal as I have sketched, that is, a system founded on Sympathy and Reciprocity, would be better. For the rest, all we ask you, for the present, is that you will do what you can, in your individual lives, on the one hand to mitigate the evils of the present system while it lasts, and, on the other, to further its replacement by a better system, when the time for it is ripe, by all the means within your power.





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